UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK IN ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

GEORGE R. STEPHENS

A THESIS

IN ENGLISH

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
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PREFACE

The present work was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Albert C. Baugh and was begun as a part of the requirements in his course on the methods and materials of research, given at the University of Pennsylvania. I am most heavily indebted to Dr. Baugh, who directed the work and upon whose learning in the field of medieval life I have constantly drawn. It has been largely through his kindly encouragement and criticism that the study has been brought to completion.

As the investigation went on, I have necessarily incurred many other obligations. To Dr. Clarence G. Child, who read the manuscript and made many suggestions, I owe my gratitude. For assistance in the transcription of some of the more difficult passages in the letters of John Free, I owe thanks to Dr. Herbert Wing, of Dickinson College, and to Dr. Gaines Post and Dr. George W. Robinson, both of Harvard University. I am indebted also to Miss May Morris, of the Dickinson College Library, for her help in locating and placing at my disposal many important works.

Dickinson College,
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I

Introduction

Of the numerous questions affecting the literary and cultural history of England on which a diversity of opinion still exists and on which those with the right to speak speak with hesitation, one of considerable interest concerns the extent to which Greek was known in England in the Middle Ages. It is a question which has long received conflicting answers. Nearly a hundred years ago historians who expressed current views fairly accurately were in disagreement over it.[1] Nor is such disagreement surprising since there is not a little conflicting evidence. And in spite of much that has been written touching the question during the last century, it cannot be said that we have come much nearer to a final judgment on the matter.

One reason for this lack of agreement is the diversity and often contradiction that characterize the statements of medieval writers themselves. Roger Bacon, for example, in the thirteenth century makes assertions that are not easy to reconcile with known facts. In one place he writes: "Multi vero inveniuntur qui sciunt loqui Graecum, et Arabicum, et Hebraeum, inter Latinos, sed paucissimi sunt qui sciunt rationem grammaticae ipsius, nec sciunt docere eam."[2] Elsewhere he says: "Graecum vero maxime concordat cum Latino; et sunt multi in Anglia et Francia qui hic satis instructi sunt, nec multum esset pro tanta utilitate ire in Italiam, in qua clerus et populus sunt pure Graeci in multis locis; et episcopatus, et archepiscopatus, et divites, ac

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[1] George Craik in his *Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England* (London, 1844), p. 156, said, "It cannot, perhaps, be said that the knowledge of the Greek tongue was entirely lost in Western Europe; there were probably in every age a few scholars who had more than a merely elementary acquaintance with it. It was certain, however, that it was not a common study even among the most learned." Yet only a few years before, Henry Hallam, in his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* (London, 1837–39), had taken a much more skeptical position. I quote from the edition of 1872, I.101. "For all the purposes of taste and erudition," he says, "there was no Greek in western Europe during the Middle Ages; if we look only at the knowledge of bare words, we have seen there was a very slender portion."

[2] *Opera Inedita* (ed. Brewer, London, 1859), pp. 33–34.

seniores possent ibi mittere pro libris, et pro uno vel pro pluribus qui scirent Graecum; sicut dominus Robertus, sanctus episcopus Lincolniensis, solebat facere; quorum aliqui in Anglia usque ad haec tempora sunt superstites."[3] Moreover, he is not always consistent with himself. What are we to conclude when after remarking about the difficulty and expense involved in procuring the works of Aristotle, he boasts that he has seen the Greek texts of fifty of Aristotle's books on natural history?[4]

Previous attempts to determine the extent of Greek learning in England in the Middle Ages have for one reason or another fallen short of their object. The only approach to a separate treatment of the question is that of Miss Louise R. Loomis who a quarter of a century ago published the first part of a study called *Medieval Hellenism*[5] and promised in the preface a continuation of her investigation. In the three chapters of this work which are still all that have appeared she has treated in some detail the sources from which the Middle Ages obtained their knowledge of Greek grammar and rhetoric, has touched upon Greek scholars in England, and has given considerable attention to Roger Bacon. But these topics only lead up to her principal concern, the development of interest in Greek in Italy in the time of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. The first volume of Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*,[6] a better known work, touches in various places upon the knowledge of Greek in England. It is unnecessary to praise the comprehensiveness and scholarship of this work; but the very scope of Sandys' undertaking made it impossible for him to give extended consideration to the particular question that concerns us. The chief value of his work in the present connection lies in the testimony he has gathered as to the works of Greek literature that were known in England and his references to men who had or were reputed to have had some knowledge of Greek. His

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 434.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 473.
[5] Lancaster, Pa., 1906 (Columbia University dissertation).
[6] John Sandys, *The History of Classical Scholarship*, 3v. (Cambridge, 1903–1906. Vol. 1: From the Sixth Century B. C. to the End of the Middle Ages (3rd. ed., 1921.)

contributions are more valuable for the earlier than for the later period of this study. A third work dealing with the earlier periods of our study, Albert Tougard's *L'Hellénisme dans les écrivains du moyen-âge du septième au douzième siècle* (Paris, 1886), unfortunately leaves much to be desired. So far as England is concerned the work is uncritical, attributing a knowledge of Greek to many men on wholly insufficient grounds. More limited in scope and much more scholarly is M. Roger's *L'Enseignment des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), which includes a valuable discussion of the beginnings of Greek interest, especially in Alcuin's England.

A number of works of broader scope contain useful discussions bearing on the problem. Heeren's early work on classical scholarship[7] is valuable for the fifteenth century. In the treatment of the earlier centuries there is little of interest other than the comments on the conditions in England which militated against the acceptance of Greek culture. Cramer[8] has some discussion of the earlier half of our period, both of the works known in England and the individual Englishmen who knew Greek, but his statements must be taken in the light of the scholarship of his day. Henry Osborne Taylor's *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*[9] touches at various times briefly upon our subject, but its chief value lies in the bibliography for Greek study in the Middle Ages which is included. *The Medieval Mind*,[10] by the same author, contains little to our purpose. There is a chapter on Roger Bacon, however, which is of interest. More to the point are some of the pages in Maitland's *The Dark Ages*[11] in which the writer considers the hostility toward Greek culture and the reasons behind it. For the later Middle Ages, Lewis Einstein's *The Italian Renaissance in England* and Ingram Bywater's *Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England* make important contributions. Both have detailed ac-

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[7] A. H. L. Heeren, *Geschichte des Studiums der Classischen Litteratur seit dem Wiederaufleben der Wissenschaften* (2v., Göttingen, 1797–1801).

[8] Frederick Cramer, *De Graecis Medii Aevi Studiis* (2v., Stralsund, 1849–1853).

[9] New York, 1901.

[10] 2v., New York, 1911. 4th ed., 1925.

[11] London, 1844. 5th ed., 1890.

counts of students such as Free, Gunthorpe, Grey, and Selling tracing their journeyings to centers of learning, indicating the Greek works they read, and listing the Greek manuscripts they collected in their wanderings. Both works make possible a much more complete picture of Greek learning in the fifteenth century.

It is unnecessary to speak of the contributions of Rashdall and Paetow, Coulton, and Haskins, and Thorndike. It goes without saying that much is to be gleaned from their publications.[12] But it is impossible not to single out for special mention the many contributions of Montague Rhodes James on one important aspect of our study. In the course of a lifetime spent in cataloguing the manuscripts of the Cambridge colleges and other libraries he has collected a mass of important data on Greek manuscripts, tracing many to their medieval homes in England, and determining the contents of medieval collections since dispersed. Apart from the notes scattered through the catalogues referred to, the results of his studies are especially to be found in *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts* (1919) and "Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," *The Library*, 4th, ser., VII (1927).[13] His data may be supplemented by other well-known works on medieval libraries. Becker's extensive collection of catalogues[14] is somewhat disappointing in the paucity of its materials for England. Gottlieb's *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890) similarly lists only one or two Greek works in English libraries. A useful appendix in Ernest Savage's *Old English Libraries* (London and Chicago, 1912) contains a "List of Medieval Collections of Books."

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[12] Special mention may be made of Haskins' "The Greek Element in the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1920), 603–615, and Lynn Thorndike's "Some Thirteenth Century Classics," *Speculum*, II (1927), 374–384.

[13] See also *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903); "The Catalogues of the Augustinian Friars at York" in *Fasciculus Joanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 2–96; and *The Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collections of Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1899), where James partially clears up the confusion caused by the Archbishop's mistaken attributions of Greek works.

[14] Gustavus Becker. *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885).

In this survey it has been possible to mention only the more important secondary sources. With this indication, however, of previous discussions of the question, we may note briefly the lines along which our inquiry must needs be conducted. It will be readily seen that one of our first tasks must be to test the claims of those who make some pretense to an acquaintance with the Greek language before 1500. It will be important to know not merely how many of these claims are valid but to what extent they are valid. If we find that there were at times those who could avail themselves of works written in the Greek language, it will be important to inquire what works were available in England on which they might exercise their knowledge and the extent to which they did exercise it. In this connection it will be of significance to determine where these works were available and the distribution of those scholars who nourished from age to age the feeble spark of Greek learning. Before turning to this inquiry, however, we shall consider two important topics: the obstacles that hindered those who were endeavoring to make contacts with Greek culture, and the influences by which an interest in Greek was stimulated.

II

Obstacles and Incentives

The motives which prompted students in the Middle Ages to study Greek are not fully to be inferred from the analogy of modern times. In the thirteenth century that enthusiastic though perplexing advocate of things Hellenic, Roger Bacon, formulated a series of thirteen points in support of such study. In the first place he instances the example of the saints, the philosophers and poets, and all the wise Latin scholars, since they spent their time in the study of the learned tongues. Secondly the Latins drew all things which appear in their own writings from these languages, so that it is necessary for later scholars to study them, if they wish to enjoy the wisdom of the ancients. In the third place, without a knowledge of their sources it is impossible to understand the Latin writers themselves. They did not explain many things, believing that posterity would give itself to the study of languages, just as they themselves through such a study had sought out what was necessary. His fourth reason is only an extension of this idea: What the Latins did explain they did not always explain well; we ought to turn again to the original languages. His fifth reason is philological: The Latin language, he says, is made up from the other languages. To this he adds the observation that Latin is the mother of all learning and its power permeates all branches of knowledge. Bacon's other reasons include (7) the lack of original scientific texts in Latin, (8) the difficulty of transferring the precise sense of one language into another, (9) the necessity in all translation of retaining certain words and idioms of the original, (10) the necessity of reading Aristotle in the original, (11) the great number of errors in the translations of philosophical works, especially in those of Michael Scot and William Flemming, (12) the paucity of philosophical works in translation, and (13) the false conceptions which had come into studies through ignorance of languages.[1]

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[1] Roger Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 464–475.

This is a fairly comprehensive statement of the case for the study of Greek as the Middle Ages formulated it. Yet we must not make the mistake of accepting it as an adequate presentation of all points of view. It represents first of all a view that in part at least was not possible before the thirteenth century, and, what is even more important, the view of one who was often in advance of his time. Moreover, Bacon's attitude is clearly that of the scholar. His interest in Greek is not literary or cultural, but scientific, and a theologian would have probably made some substitutions or additions to his list. It is to be doubted, however, whether they would have differed in spirit from the arguments advanced by Bacon. That spirit is practical. The Greeks are the sources of later wisdom. They are unavailable or inadequately represented in translation. Aristotle, especially, must be read in the original. And the very vocabulary of science is only to be fully comprehended in the light of Greek etymons.

The desire to learn Greek, however, did not remove the difficulties which presented themselves to the ambitious student. At the outset he faced the realization that his study would not yield the financial rewards held out by certain other branches of learning.[2] Next, he had to contend with the scarcity of books and the imperfections in the available texts. Likewise, he had often to overcome the difficulty of learning Greek without the aid of a Greek-speaking teacher, and at times he encountered a degree of hostility in the Church. In fact, when all the difficulties that beset the student of Greek are passed in review, we shall not be so much surprised at the little Greek learning in England. It will be rather a surprise if, in spite of the difficulties, even a thin stream of interest is found persisting through the Middle Ages.

The scarcity of books for Greek study can hardly be exaggerated. While all books were scarce in the early part of the Middle Ages, Greek books were exceedingly rare. If we consult the catalogues of early English libraries, which often betray

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[2] Louis J. Paetow, *The Arts Course at Mediaeval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric* (Champaigne, Illinois, 1910), p. 20.

pride in the possession of their treasures, in the majority of cases we find no record of a Greek book. Even the best of the early libraries in the island list only two or three Greek texts. The Homers noted in the catalogue of Whitby in the year 1180 and at Durham in the twelfth century may have been Greek works but were probably not. If they were, they were lone Greek copies.[3] Out of 223 volumes at Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1170, only one Greek work is named, a Donatus in Greek.[4] Whatever Greek books had come to England with Theodore and Hadrian had wandered away from Canterbury and some were probably lost.[5] Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries practically nothing is known of Greek works at Canterbury.[6] In the year 1168 a fire destroyed the Church of St. Augustine and probably with it many manuscripts.[7] Fire also destroyed in 1137 the collection of Greek works gathered by Egbert in the eighth century at York, and praised by Alcuin.[8]

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[3] For the list of 74 pieces at Whitby which include the Homer (c. 1180), see Gustavus Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 226. For the 370 books at Durham in the twelfth century see *Surtees Society Publications*, VII, 1–10. The Homers are mentioned because there is just a slight possibility that they were in Greek. If so, it is very likely that they came through the efforts of Theodore or at least through his group. There can be no proof that they were Greek, however, and I know of no writer who believes that they were. Dr. James, in his "Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," *The Library*, 4th ser., VII, does not even discuss them as possibilities.

[4] Montague Rhodes James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 7.

[5] The copy of The Acts, a Graeco-Latin text of the seventh century, has been identified by Dr. James, *Ibid.*, p. xxiii, as the one now at the Bodleian (Laud.Gr. 35). This book may have come to England through the agency of Theodore and Hadrian, but it was not at Canterbury long, for it has been shown by Dr. James to have been in Bede's possession. Benedict Biscop's books were at York.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxv, lxxxvi. Here Dr. James says that he found by a fortunate discovery an Octateuch (Genesis to Ruth) in Greek with the words "liber ecclesie Christi Cant." in a fourteenth century hand. The work, a thirteenth century manuscript, is now at the Bodleian (Canon. Gr. 35). Otherwise, he says, he knows of no Greek work at Canterbury from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. lxxix.

[8] The collection which Egbert made for his cathedral at York has been described in the poem of Alcuin (Migne, *P.L.* CI. 843) part of which is quoted later. Thomas Wright in his *Biographia Britannica Literaria* (2 vols., London, 1840–1846), I.36, praises Egbert highly, saying that he not only collected Greek works for York but also taught Greek as well as other languages to many students at the school there. Wright, however, gives no sources for

A catalogue of books at York in the year 1372 lists only two Greek psalters and a few books of the Bible having Greek glosses.[9] In the same century, Ramsey Abbey possessed a large library, but here again few Greek texts can be identified. In a collection of more than seven hundred books only three were Greek: two psalters, and a book called *Ars Loquendi Linguam Graecam*.[10] Moreover, the libraries mentioned were the most likely to have Greek works. Many other large collections had no Greek texts at all. Glastonbury, for example, had a fairly large library but apparently possessed no book in Greek.[11] Bury St. Edmunds, Reading Abbey, and Lanthony Priory likewise had none.[12] In the fifteenth century Darley Abbey had one copy of St. Basil, since it was borrowed in 1452 by Robert Flemming.[13] Nor were private libraries any better off. Richard of Bury, with all his zeal as a collector of books (1287–1345), could boast of no Greek manuscripts, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, patron of translators and a man interested in Greek, apparently owned only one Greek book, a glossary.[14] After making all necessary allowances for the incompleteness of our knowledge, we can be in no doubt about, though we need not be surprised at, the scarcity of Greek books in medieval England.

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his statements. See John Leland, in *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford, 1709), I. 114. The belief now is that the only Greek work was a Priscian. Alcuin's description of the collection, which must remain our best authority, since the library is lost, seems to warrant Leland's conclusion. Sandys (*op. cit.*, I. 471) passes over Egbert as unimportant. For the destruction of the collection, see Joseph Hunter, *English Monastic Libraries* (London, 1831), p. 29.

[9] M. R. James, "The Catalogue of the Augustinian Friars at York," *Fasciculus Joanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 2–96.

[10] *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis* (ed. W. D. Macray, London, 1886), p. 356.

[11] In 1247–1248 a list of more than 500 books contained no Greek works. See *Adami de Domerham, Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*. (Ed. Hearne, Oxford, 1727), II. 317–318.

[12] For the contents of these libraries respectively see M. R. James, on the *Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge, 1895, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, xxviii), p. 23 ff.; S. Barfield's notes in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, III (1888), 117–123; and British Museum, Harl. Ms. 460, ff3–4.

[13] M. R. James, "Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," *The Library*, 4th Ser., VII (1927), 347.

[14] Richard of Bury's comments on books are, of course, in his *Philobiblon*. For Humphrey's bequests to Oxford, see Henry Maxwell Lyte, *A History of the University of Oxford* (London, 1885), pp. 319–323, and K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* (London, 1907), pp. 401 ff.

Not only was there a lack of Greek literary, scientific, and theological texts in England, but an equal scarcity of the humbler tools for the study of Greek, such as grammars and lexicons. A few copies of Priscian and Donatus were available for such knowledge of Greek words as the discussion of etymology in Priscian and the paradigms in Donatus involved. The *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu (1199) and the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune (1212) were a new development. Both were metrical treatises dealing with grammar. The former was an attempt to improve on Priscian[15]; the latter had a chapter on Greek etymologies and contained many Greek words and constructions. These works were known in England. They were not satisfactory, however, and the need of a Greek grammar in England in the thirteenth century led Roger Bacon to compile such a book, and he is also credited with a Greek lexicon. Richard of Bury likewise felt the need of grammars. He says: "We draw this one conclusion, however, from what has been said: namely, that ignorance of the Greek language is at this day highly injurious to the study of the Latins, without which the dogmas either of the ancient Christians or Gentiles cannot be comprehended. . . . Wherefore we have taken care to provide for our scholars a Hebrew as well as a Greek grammar, with certain adjuncts, by the help of which studious readers may be instructed in writing, reading, and understanding the said languages, although the hearing alone with the ears can represent propriety of idiom [to] the mind."[16]

Such Greek texts as were to be found in England seem to have been notably imperfect. Complaints were frequent. Roger Bacon is as usual severe in his comments. The chronology of the *Antiquities* of Josephus, he said, was incorrectly given and without the aid of a true version of the work, he could not properly pursue his study of Biblical history.[17] The *Compendium Studii Philosophiae* likewise abounds with expressions

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[15] Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[16] *Philobiblon* (trans. J. B. Inglis, London, 1832), p. xliii.
[17] Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus* (ed. J. H. Bridges, 2v., Oxford, 1897, Vol. 3, Supplement, 1900), I, 44–46.

of Bacon's dissatisfaction with existing texts.[18] After illustrating the various types of error he had encountered, he advises the Latins to become acquainted with Greek as an indispensable preliminary to a study of the philosophy of the Greeks, but he goes on to warn them of the imperfections in the originals and to lament the badness of the translations from these faulty Greek texts.[19] At some points in his writings, Bacon excuses the translators for their share in giving bad versions, since the original copies were so mutilated, or the alterations (in the case of some Arabic manuscripts) so confusing. He says: ". . . sed vel mala translatio, vel falsitas exemplaris Graeci, vel aliqua alia causa nos impedit in hac parte . . ."[20] Bacon is particularly severe in his condemnation of the translations of Aristotle. He felt that the available versions were worse than useless, and that the more one read them the less one could understand. In a mood of despair, he even advised the burning of all the existing translations.[21] The remedy which he suggests is that some should go to Italy, there to search for Greek texts and persons who really knew Greek; and he notes that a few men had been sent on such a trip.[22] The labors of Grosseteste, the influence of Humphrey, and the journeys of Selling, like the efforts of Bacon, were all in the interest of improved Greek texts.

A glance at a manuscript or two is all that is necessary to impress us with the fact that Greek texts were imperfect. For example, the *Codex Laudunensis*, which contains Greek glossaries, a collection of Greek writers known in the ninth century, and poems in Greek by John Erigena, a manuscript which is one of the few we have from the famous Irish school, is full of inaccuracies in orthography, grammar, and interpretation; and in

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[18] Roger Bacon, *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, pp. 453, 454, 457–458, 459ff.

[19] Cp. E. Nolan and S. A. Hirsch, *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon* (Cambridge, 1902), p. lii.

[20] *Opus Majus*, II, 56. Cp. *ibid.*, II, 193. "Verum non est sententia Aristotelis ubique translata, sed error fuit exemplari um Graecorum et Arabicorum, vel potius vitium translatorum, quorum nullus perfecte scivit linguas nec scientias."

[21] *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, p. 469. Bacon's criticism is unnecessarily captious. See the remarks of W. H. V. Reade, "Philosophy in the Middle Ages", in the *Camb. Med. Hist.*, v. 813 f.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 434.

the same manuscript there are some fragments of the Greek of Martinus, a follower of Erigena, which are in even worse Greek.[23] In the texts printed in Cockayne's *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, there are many evidences of error. The faults are to be explained partly by the imperfect knowledge of Greek, partly by scribal blunders. Somewhat later Bacon, especially in the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, gives many illustrations of the mistakes occurring because of faulty Greek texts,[24] and he himself is guilty of passing on some errors in his *Greek Grammar*.[25] It will be seen that I have been referring to Greek works which were written in the West, especially in England and Ireland. In the case of manuscripts written by the Greeks, the inaccuracies are less evident, but even these manuscripts had often suffered in the course of transmission.

In order to learn Greek, the medieval student would naturally turn to a Greek-speaking teacher if he could come into contact with one easily. This was not, however, always possible. A few Greek-speaking teachers were in England at various times throughout the period under discussion, but not many students were fortunate enough to have the money and time necessary to seek them out. Nor were these teachers numerous. Theodore and Hadrian were available at Canterbury, as we have indicated. Later ecclesiastical visitors who knew Greek were from time to time in the island, but these were mostly transients. Matthew Paris tells us of the rather surprising reception of some of these men at the court of King John. "Quidam philosophi Graeci, vultu et gestu severi et venerabiles; tertio vel quarto anno regni eiusdem regis I (ohannis) in Angliam ab Athenis venientes curiam regis adierunt, sperantes eum, et alios per consequens occidentales in arcum parvum in articulis fidei convertisse . . . Et sic, imposito eis silentio, vacui recesserunt confusi."[26] Then there were also in England Nicholas the Greek, who was well

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[23] Cp. James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland* (New York, 1929), I, 589–990.

[24] See above, p. 17.

[25] *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon* (ed. E. Nolan and S. A. Hirsch, Cambridge, 1902), p. 145. Here Bacon gives as the genitive of βῶξ the form βωκτὸς after the analogy of νύξ, νυκτὸς instead of βωκὸς.

[26] Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum* (ed. F. Madden, London, 1866), III, 64.

equipped to teach Greek, and John the Saracen, a translator of Greek works, and the one to whom John of Salisbury turned for the explanation of Greek words.[27] Bacon's knowledge of Greek apparently came from Greeks, if we may judge by his pronunciation. Moreover, we have his own statement that Greek teachers were present. I have already quoted the passage.[28] One reason for the presence of the Greeks in England, Bacon hints, was that Grosseteste had invited them. This would seem to indicate that the number was not large. Who these men were or how numerous they were, however, Bacon does not say. As time went on the number of men who could teach Greek in England increased. In the fifteenth century, we know of the appearance of Demetrius Paleologus, Manuel Chrysoloras, Emmanuel of Constantinople, and John Argyropoulos, in England because of records concerning them in the Rolls of the English Exchequer.[29] At Oxford we find a possible Greek teacher, Cornelius Vitelli, teaching and lecturing in the late fifteenth century.[30] George Hermonymus of Sparta, a Greek teacher and copyist of Greek manuscripts, was also in England (c. 1475) on a papal mission, but there is no evidence of any influence exerted by him.[31] Of course not all of these visitors had any effect on learning, but it is worthy of note that they were in England, and some at least were in the island with the avowed purpose of teaching Greek or copying Greek manuscripts.[32]

The hostility of the Church as a hindrance to Greek study has been somewhat exaggerated. It is true that in some ways the attitude of the Church retarded the study of Greek, although in other ways the Church was responsible for the preserva-

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[27] Louise R. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 22. See below, p. 57.

[28] See above, p. 7.

[29] Howard Gray, "Greek Visitors to England in 1455–1456", in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins.* Edited by C. H. Taylor (Boston and New York, 1929), pp. 81–116. Cp. H. C. Luke, "Visitors from the East to the Plantagenet and Lancastrian Kings," *Nineteenth Century,* CVIII (Dec. 1930), 760–769; and M. Weinbaum, "Zur Stellung der Fremden im mittelalterlichen England," *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft,* XLVI (1931), 360–378. See below, Chap. VII.

[30] See below, p. 114.

[31] P. Allen, "Bishop Shirwood of Durham and His Library," *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* XXV (1910), 449.

[32] See below, p. 99.

tion of Greek learning and helped to spread interest in it. It has sometimes been assumed that the Church was hostile to all Greek learning because it disapproved of some of the works of Aristotle. The question will claim our attention again later. For the present we may note that a certain amount of prejudice against the classics in general existed from the early days of Christianity, and some men insisted that the study of Greek philosophy could not point the way to a happy life. The typical feeling of the more narrow-minded churchman may be seen in the comment of Honorius of Autun, in his preface to the *Gemma Animae* (c. 1120):

> Plerosque vesania captos piget me mente considerare, quos non pudet abominanda poetarum figmenta ac captiosa philosophorum argumenta summo conamine indagare, quae mentem ideo abstractam vitiorum nexibus insolubiliter solent innodare, religionem autem Christianae professionis penitus ignorare, per quam animam liceat perenniter cum Deo regnare. Cum sit summae dementiae jura tyranni velle scire, et edicta summi imperatoris nescire, atque ea quae quotidie necessario facias non intelligere. Porro quid confert animae pugna Hectoris, vel disputio Platonis, aut carmina Maronis, vel neniae Nasonis, qui nunc cum consimilibus suis strident in carcere infernalis Babylonis, sub truci imperio Plutonis.[33]

This feeling is met with at all periods of the Middle Ages, and pagan writers came in for much blame. Gregory of Nazianzum, for instance, blamed the apostasy of Julian on the study of Greek philosophy.[34] Ordericus Vitalis complained that his strict monastic vows prevented him from making researches into the affairs of Alexandria, Greece, and Rome, which he thought should be investigated by himself and handed on to others.[35] Such an attitude, however, is not general, and in the course of this study we shall see so many instances where the Church aided in the preservation of Greek works and encouraged

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[33] Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXII, 543. Cp. S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages* (5th ed. London, 1890), p. 185, and Sandys, *op. cit.*, I, 618. (Hereafter referred to as Sandys.)

[34] Francis A. Gasquet, "English Scholarship in the Thirteenth Century," *The Dublin Review*, CXXIII (1898), 360.

[35] Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy* (trans. T. Forester, 4 v., London, 1853–1856), I, 3.

Greek study that we must be careful not to exaggerate the hostility of the Church.

Toward the works of Aristotle there was a more or less persistent opposition. Almost at the first indication of an influx of pagan learning the Church took fright and Aristotle's works on metaphysics and natural philosophy were forbidden by the Pope.[36] At the beginning of the thirteenth century the movement against Aristotle reached its height. In the year 1210 we find the following expression of feeling on the part of the Church contained in a letter to the authorities of the University at Paris: "Quaternuli magistri David de Dinant infra natale episcopo Parisiensi offerantur et comburantur, nec libri Aristotelis de naturali philosophia nec commenta legantur Parisius publice vel secreto, et hoc sub pena excommunicationis inhibemus."[37] This disapproval of Aristotle is found again in 1215.[38] By the year 1231, however, a more lenient attitude was taken, as we find by reference to a letter of Gregory IX to the authorities at Paris stating that the books were to be examined "et quae ibi erronea seu scandali vel offendiculi legentibus inveneritis illativa, penitus resecetis . . ."[39] The ban on Aristotle was not wholly lifted until 1255.[40] The attitude at Paris is of importance to us because it was reflected in England. In 1240 Robert Grosseteste warned the teachers at Oxford "ut in ordine lectionum magistris Parisiensibus se conforment."[41] Though by the middle of the thirteenth century the proscriptions against Aristotle were removed, the feeling of hostility did not at once die. The prejudice against his logical works is testified to in the story that about 1330 a student of Paris emerged from a tomb dressed in a parchment covered with Latin characters, a device to warn his instructor against teaching the vanities of the world and to

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[36] Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis des Mittelalters* (4v., Paris, 1889–1897), I. 78 f. "Non legantur libri Aristotelis *de methafisica et de naturali philosophia*, nec summae de eisdem . . ."

[37] *Ibid.*, I, 70.

[38] *Ibid.*, I 78 f. Cp. Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), I, 356–357. (Hereafter referred to as Rashdall.)

[39] *Ibid.*, I, 143.

[40] *Ibid.*, I, 278.

[41] *Ibid.*, I, 169.

inform him of the torture he himself was undergoing because he had studied logic at Paris.[42] Although the opposition was not so strongly felt in England as in France, it persisted there as well. At Oxford as late as the fifteenth century anyone who even studied medicine was likely to be held under suspicion of heresy.[43]

When, now, we consider the other side of the picture and attempt to estimate the sources of stimulation that promoted the study of Greek in England during the Middle Ages we are led first to a consideration of the situation on the continent. From what centers outside of England could stimulation come? One turns naturally to the East. The capital of the Eastern Empire had escaped the worst of the effects of the barbarian invasions and at Constantinople during most of the Middle Ages learning continued to flourish. In this city from the end of the fourth century to the middle of the fifteenth there was a brilliant civilization. What is more, it was an essentially Greek civilization. Of course, there were some evidences of Oriental luxury and love of spectacle, and some influence of Christianity made itself felt, but the Byzantine culture was rooted in antiquity and was largely a Greek one. At Constantinople the picture is one of keen intellectual activity. Although at different times preference might vary between theological discussion and science, or poetry, the study of Greek literature was the foundation of Byzantine education.[44] All classes were interested in the development of the mind. The immense learning of the Princess Comnena and the subtlety of the poor man, Michael Psellus, indicates the broad reach of intellectual activity. Also, it is noteworthy that at this center were the greatest collections of Greek manuscripts, and that here the Greek texts were still being copied and read. Greek, so difficult to acquire in other

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[42] Joseph V. LeClerc, *Histoire Littéraire de la France au Quatorzième Siècle* (2 v., Paris, 1865), I, 502.

[43] Victor A. Huber, *The English Universities* (trans. Francis W. Newman, London, 1843), pp. 158ff. A good conclusion to the matter has been drawn by Prof. J. S. Beddie, in "The Ancient Classics in Mediaeval Libraries," *Speculum*, V (1930), 6. "Though the works of several of the classical authors were not looked upon by the Church with complete approval, this temporary check to the spread of the works of Aristotle is the nearest approach in the Middle Ages to a prohibition of the use of any Greek or Roman author."

[44] Charles Diehl, "Byzantine Civilization," *Camb. Med. Hist.*, IV, 763.

places, was here the national language. The appeal of law, ecclesiastical writings, astronomy, and other subjects took the fancy of scholars for short periods; the appeal of Greek literature was lasting. Attention is often directed to the moral corruption and political dishonesty of the Eastern capital but there can be no doubt about the intellectual brilliance of Constantinople in the Middle Ages. And the influence of this center was felt outside, particularly in Italy. The journeyings of James of Venice in the twelfth and Burgundio of Pisa in the fifteenth century, both of whom made translations from the Greek, illustrate the intercourse between Constantinople and Italy that was fairly constant throughout the Middle Ages. The contact had been formed early, and considerably before the fall of the Eastern capital Italian students had frequently gone there to profit by the association with Greek scholars and to collect Greek manuscripts. As a result, Italy became the chief center to which England, along with the rest of Europe, turned in order to find Greek learning. As compared with Italy and the East other centers were of slighter importance. In the early Middle Ages Greek had flourished in Ireland,[45] whence it had spread to Iona, and there was some knowledge of Greek in Moslem Spain.[46] Later, Paris offered facilities which, if less adequate, were nearer home. But throughout the whole of the period with which we are concerned Italy was the chief place in western Europe where an Englishman might learn Greek from competent teachers and get possession of Greek works.

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[45] Kuno Meyer, *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century and the Transmission of Letters* (Dublin, 1913), *passim*. Cp. Ernest Savage, *The Story of Libraries and Book Collecting* (New York, n. d.), p. 49, and Sandys, I, 451, 462f. As early as the fourth century the knowledge of Greek was so diffused in Ireland that if anyone knew the language it was taken for granted that he had come from Ireland. The interest lasted for some time, and in the ninth century there was still some evidence of Greek there, for example, the Book of Armagh (c.807) with the Latin Lord's Prayer written in Greek characters (Sandys, I, 463, and cp., however, M. Roger, *op. cit.*, p. 269), and the works of Sedulius, i.e., the Greek Psalter and the extracts from Origen and the explanations of Jerome. There was little direct influence of the Irish scholars to be found in England, however, with the single exception of Erigena; whatever outside influence these men had was felt rather on the continent. For the discussion of Erigena see above, p. 17, and below, p. 36 ff.

[46] John J. I. Döllinger, *Studies in European History* (trans. Margaret Ware, London, 1890), pp. 180–181.

The earliest impulse to the study of Greek in England came through the Church, and from time to time the impetus was renewed through the same channel. It was thus that the Greek learning was introduced to England in the seventh century when Theodore and Hadrian came in the company of Benedict Biscop, the party having been sent by the Pope. These men, together with Lanfranc and Anselm who came later, were responsible for most of the Greek learning in England until the twelfth century. Only the possibility of an influence from Ireland through the efforts of John Erigena must be considered as an additional factor. Again throughout the next three centuries ecclesiastical visitors from Greece and Italy frequently came to England, and by their presence stimulated an interest in Greek. All of these men will be discussed more at length in the proper place. It is sufficient for the present to observe that the Church was responsible for the introduction of Greek into England, that men connected with the Church were the leading Greek students there, and that individuals and groups sent by the Church served from time to time to keep the Greek language before scholars in the island.

A second factor of importance in furthering the study of Greek in England was the activity of certain men of influence and wealth who were interested in things Greek. Robert Grosseteste is an early example. He not only sent John of Basingstoke to Greece to study and collect Greek works but also invited Greek-speaking teachers to England. Humphrey of Gloucester, while not a Greek student himself, was willing to reward handsomely any scholar who would offer him translations of Greek writers. His fame as a lavish giver stimulated interest in the new learning throughout Europe as well as in England. Other patrons of letters purchased costly books which were far beyond the reach of the ordinary student. In this way the Duke of Bedford purchased and brought to England from France the royal collection of books, at the beginning of the reign of Charles VII. Richard of Bury, William Selling, John Gunthorpe, William Grey, and John Tiptoft were among others who supplied facilities at home for the benefit of ambitious students.

The emergence of the universities and the coming of the

mendicant orders to England also played an important part in stimulating the study of Greek. It is true that, though councils had provided for Greek teaching in Oxford in the fourteenth century, the English universities did not develop the study of Greek to any extent until the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, in numerous cases the taste for learning aroused at the English universities drove students to supplement their knowledge by further study in France, Italy, or Spain. In the pursuit of higher learning in foreign universities many of the English students came into contact with Greek. The Orders also encouraged learning. In the thirteenth century the Franciscans included among their number many of the foremost scholars of the time. Both at Oxford and Cambridge the Franciscan group was a likely body among which to find the Greek student. In the next century the greater freedom for study they enjoyed made the Dominicans important in Greek scholarship. Where learning in general flourished it is but natural to expect the greatest interest in Greek.

Some importance must also be attached to the Crusades in stimulating an interest in Greek. Their influence is probably none the less real for being difficult to define and evaluate. It is possible that some men who were in the East for a sufficient length of time picked up a smattering of Greek. Some brought back among other things an occasional Greek book or a Greek work in Arabic translation. It is likely that the contact with Eastern religion and philosophy at least stimulated curiosity in Eastern thought. And the whole effect of extensive travel on the part of large numbers of people was inevitably to break down the provincialism of medieval Europe and stir the mind generally. But perhaps the most significant of all the effects of the Crusades so far as the interest in Greek was concerned was the fact that they focused attention on the East, made Europe Orient-conscious, and lessened the sense of strangeness and remoteness which hitherto had stood in the way of any real intellectual contact between the East and the West.

Finally one should not overlook the part played by business men in contributing to the spread of Greek learning. The chief aim of the merchants was of course financial profit, but a spread of

culture often resulted from their activities. Answering the growing demands for Greek works, the merchants of the Levant early manifested an eagerness to get into what showed itself to be a profitable trade and "plying between Greek and Italian ports, were not slow to take advantage of the greater profits for carrying Greek codices than for ordinary freights."[47] By their activities they were preparing the way for the manuscript hunters who were to reach Italy in numbers in the fifteenth century. Many wealthy Englishmen became involved in the book trade, either sending men to seek out works for them or going themselves to buy books. At times an Englishman such as Andrew Holes, possibly an agent for Humphrey,[48] purchased a shipload of books to send to England. That the sailing merchants and shopkeepers did a considerable business with the increasing demand for Greek manuscripts is shown in the attitude taken by the Italians later. There was eventually a feeling that the manuscript buyers were depleting Italy of its treasures in their eagerness to get more texts.

The degree to which the various factors which we have considered exercised an influence on the study of Greek is to be judged ultimately by the number of students who in successive centuries undertook such study. To this we now turn.

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[47] Ernest Savage, *The Story of Libraries and Book-collecting* (New York, n. d.), p. 26.

[48] See below, p. 101.

III

Greek in England to the Beginning of the Twelfth Century

The earliest appearance of Greek in England came in the seventh century with the arrival of Theodore of Tarsus, Hadrian, and Benedict Biscop (c. 669). Theodore of Tarsus was named for the place of his birth and had been educated at Athens. He was therefore familiar with Greek. In 668 he was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury. His companion Hadrian, whose importance may be gathered from the fact that the Pope had offered the see of Canterbury to him before giving it to Theodore, and had insisted that he accompany Theodore to England, is described by Bede as "most skilful in both the Greek and Latin tongues."[1] Benedict Biscop, whose knowledge of Greek is uncertain, was the escort of the other two on their journey. At Canterbury Theodore and Hadrian founded a center of Greek learning, the first in the island.[2] In this activity Theodore probably took the leading part. Bede describes him as "vir et seculari et divina literatura, et Graeca instructus et Latine."[3] Theodore is credited with having brought certain Greek works with him. Just what they were has caused much discussion. There may have been a Josephus and a Homer among his books.[4] More recent investigations have added the possibility of a Chrysostom in the original Greek and another Greek work.[5] It is supposed that The Acts of the Apostles (Laud. Gr. 35 in the Bodleian) a Græco-Latin version which

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[1] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* in *Complete Works of Bede* (ed. by J. A. Giles, 12 v., London, 1843–1844), III, 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, 10.

[3] *Ibid.*, III, 6.

[4] Frederick Cramer, *De Graecis Medii Aevi Studiis* (Stralsund, 1849–1853), I, 39. "Theodorus Graecos secum tulisse fertur libros, in quibus Josephum, Homeri carmina nominant, quibusque in futurum tempus Graeca per Britanniam servata esse dicunt studia." Cp. Alkuia von Lorenz (London, 1837), p. 7, cited by Cramer.

[5] For the inclusion of the Chrysostom, see A. T. Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars* (new ed., London, 1924), p. 67.

Bede once had in his possession, could have come to England only through Theodore or one of his party.[6]

Hadrian, who was the companion of Theodore, played only a slightly less important part in stimulating an interest in Greek. As a teacher of the language he received high praise. Bede says of him, "Cujus doctrinae simul et Theodori inter alia testimonium perhibet, quod Albinus discipulus ejus, qui monasterio ipsius in regimine successit, in tantum studiis Scripturarum institutus est, ut Graecam quidem linguam non parva ex parte, Latinam vero non minus quam Anglorum, quae sibi naturalis est, noverit."[7] It is because of his pupils that Hadrian is most famous. Besides Albin, Hadrian had as students both Aldhelm and Tobias of Rochester. The former may have learned the rudiments of Greek from Maidulf, as we shall see, but he also was under the Hadrian-Albin influence, if we may rely on the evidence of the following quotation: "Graeca ita apud Britannos florebant, ut Theodorici in Cantaruensi schola discipulus, Aldhelmus, vir undecunque doctissimus,' qui Graecam linguam, rhetoricam, logicam, ab Albino, S. Augustini abatte, neque minus Graeca ac Latina a Maidulfo, Malmesburiensis monasterii conditore, doctus esse dicitur."[8] Tobias of Rochester, a pupil of Hadrian and Theodore, profited so well from his study with these teachers that according to Bede he could use the Greek as well as he could his native idiom.[9]

Of Benedict Biscop not much need be said at this juncture. We know that he traveled to England with Theodore and Hadrian as their escort, and that he had collected books in

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[6] Montague Rhodes James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. xxiii.

[7] Bede, *op. cit.*, III, 252 f. Cp. *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis* (ed. Charles Hardwick, London, 1858), pp. 294 f. Theodore and Hadrian share the honor of teaching Albin Greek.

[8] Cramer, *op. cit.*, I, 39. Cp. Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (2v., London, 1691), II, 4.

[9] Bede, *op. cit.*, III, 290. "Anno post quem proximo, Tobias Rhofensis ecclesiae praesul defunctus est, vir, ut supra meminimus, doctissimus; erat enim discipulus beatae memoriae magistrorum Theodori archiepiscopi et abbatis Hadriani, unde, ut dictum est, cum eruditione literarum vel ecclesiasticarum vel generalium, ita Graecam quoque cum Latina didicit linguam, ut tam notas ac familiares sibi eas, quam nativitatis suae loquelam, haberet."

Italy which he brought along with him,[10] and we shall see that he was associated with Bede. It will be better, therefore, to leave Benedict for the moment and turn to him again in our discussion of Bede.

Albin or Albinus (d. 731), as we have seen, had been a pupil of Hadrian. It is likely that he knew some Greek, since he had been so fortunate in his teacher. Little is known of him except that he was at St. Peter's, Canterbury, in the eighth century, and that he helped Bede in preparing his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. In fact the dedicatory epistle at the beginning of this work and the comment of Bede already quoted are practically all we know of him. Some support, perhaps, is given to the view that Albin knew something of Greek by the fact that Greek was known by his pupil, Aldhelm. Now Aldhelm may have studied Greek with Maidulf—at least he studied with him at Malmesbury[11]; he studied under Albin later, and was also a pupil of Hadrian. In a letter to Hadrian he writes: "Reverentissimo patri meaeque rudis infantiae venerando praeceptori, Adriano, Aldhelmus vernaculus familiae Christi, et vestrae pietatis suplex, alumnus, salutem, et cetera."[12] Aldhelm may, therefore, have learned his Greek from Hadrian, and we must not press too far the inference that Albin knew Greek.

Among the early English students of Greek, Aldhelm (c. 650–709) was one of the most noteworthy. He had been very fortunate in his education, having come under such teachers as Maidulf, Hadrian, and Albin. In the records we find the highest praise of his Greek learning. For example we are told that "he had mastered all the idioms of the Greek language, and wrote and spoke it, as though he were a Greek by birth."[13] Furthermore, we are told that he made such rapid strides in

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[10] Cramer, *op. cit.*, I, 39, 40. Cp. Bede, *op. cit.*, III, 79, 241. Bede does not throw any light upon the character of the books which Benedict brought to England. There is a great likelihood that one or more of them were Greek, although this cannot be proved.

[11] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque* (ed. William Stubbs, 2v., London, 1887–1889) I, 30. Cp. Henry Wharton, *op. cit.*, II, 3.

[12] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificorum Anglorum* (ed. N. E. S. Hamilton, London, 1870), p. 334.

[13] See the *Vita S.* by *Aldelmi* by Faricius in Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXIX, 66. "Miro denique modo gratiae facundiae omnia idiomata sciebat, et quasi graecus natione, scriptis et verbis pronuntiabat."

learning that before long he was considered a better scholar than either his Greek or Latin teachers."[14] The evidence found in his works, however, hardly warrants such praise. He does show some acquaintance with Greek, especially in the use of Greek words. Several hundred words such as *absinthia*, *boa caraxo*, *otasia*, et cetera, appear in his works.[15] William of Malmesbury, writing about Aldhelm's work some centuries later, complained of his Latinizing difficult and abstruse words from the Greek, a practice which became a habit with Aldhelm's followers as well.[16]

It is difficult to form an adequate judgment of the significance of the Greek learning at Canterbury in the seventh and eighth centuries. For Theodore and Hadrian we know little more than that they knew Greek and taught it to others. Concerning Albin we cannot even be sure of this much. It is not until we reach Aldhelm that we have any means of judging the extent to which Greek affected the writing and thought of these men. Even here the testimony is not impressive. The evidence shows little more than a predilection, which Aldhelm is the first to show, for introducing Greek words as a stylistic feature of Latin writing. He may have acquired the habit from his teachers. Certainly he was imitated by his pupil Æthelwold (908?–984). Aldhelm shows little knowledge of Greek thought. His reading of Greek was probably very limited, limited moreover to the small number of Greek works available in England. But to Canterbury belongs the credit of the pioneer, the honor of possessing the little group of men who brought Greek books and a knowledge of the language to England and who, in this remote part of the world, were interested in keeping the flame alive from which new fires were lighted in other centers.

The importance of Canterbury began to fade with the passing

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[14] William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, p. 333. "Ibi pusio, Graecis et Latinis eruditus letteris, brevi mirandus ipsis enituit magistris."

[15] *Aldelmi Opera* (ed. Rudolf Ehwald, Berlin, 1919), pp. 752–753. Here may be found a list of all Greek words used by Aldhelm in his writings. (Printed in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* XV, Berlin, 1919.)

[16] William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, p. 344. "Denique Graeci involute, Romani splendide, Angli pompatice dictare solent. Id in omnibus antiquis cartis est animadvertere, quantum quibusdam verbis abstrusis, et ex Graeco petitis, delectentur. Moderatius tamen se agit Aldelmus, nec nisi perraro et necessario verba ponit exotica . . . Quem si perfecte legeris, et ex acumine Graecum putabis, et ex nitore Romanum jurabis, et ex pompa Anglum intelliges."

of Aldhelm. For some years after his death we have little by which to judge the extent to which an interest in Greek survived him. Some interest was probably kept alive,[17] however, for in the tenth century we find two men who had at least an acquaintance with Greek words. These men were Odo of Canterbury (926–958) and his protégé, Fridegode (fl.956). Odo knew Greek—at least the usual Greek words—as may be seen from a manuscript of one of his letters which was found among Fridegode's papers.[18] It is possible that he knew more Greek than this fragmentary evidence indicates. In an account of him written by Osbern of Canterbury[19] we read, "Deinde Graeca et Latina lingua magistris edocendum tradidit. . . . factus quoque est in utraque lingua valde gnarus, ita ut posset poemata fingere, prosam continuare, et omnino quicquid ei animo sederet luculentissimo sermone proferre."[20] Wright believed that Odo came under certain teachers of Greek whom Athulf had secured for him.[21] If this were so, we should like to know who these men were and how numerous such men were in England at this time. But as long as the only evidence we have shows merely a knowledge of words on Odo's part, and since the only influence of Odo's Greek that we can trace is found in a similar use of words by Fridegode, we must not concede to Odo more than a Greek vocabulary, the usual display which is now expected in the Canterbury tradition.

With Fridegode the Greek tradition at Canterbury comes to an end, and for many years there is no revival of the interest in

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[17] Sandys, I, 465. "—and the tradition of Greek descended to the early days of Odo (875–961), archbishop of Canterbury." In reality it came down one step further in the protégé of Odo, Fridegode.

[18] This letter has been printed by Henry Wharton, *op. cit.*, II, 50, and has many Greek words or words from the Greek scattered through it.

[19] Osbern of Canterbury, *Vita Odonis*, printed in Wharton, *op. cit.*, II, 78 ff., quoted by Wright, *op. cit.*, I, 428. For the life of Odo see also Migne, *P. L.*, CXXXIII, 932.

[20] *Vita Odonis*, in Wharton, *op. cit.*, II, 79.

[21] Thomas Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria* (2v., London, 1842–1846), I, 428 ff. Here Wright quotes Wharton, II, 79. Cp. Walter Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (10v., London, 1865), I, 363. "The first duty towards his adopted son which would suggest itself to the mind of a noble of King Alfred's court was strictly performed by Athelm. He placed the young Dane under tutors, who reported favorably of his diligence and talents. He studied Greek as well as Latin, and is said to have excelled in verse as well as in prose." Hook is using as his source *Vita Odonis* in Wharton, *op. cit.*, II, 78 ff. Cp. above, footnote 19.

Greek at this center. Fridegode himself would hardly have been known about had it not been for a life of Wilfrid which he wrote. This biography is important for the present inquiry because it contains a metrical version of Eddius Stephanus, which is so full of Greek words that it must have been difficult for a contemporary to read it. William of Malmesbury many years later described it aptly: "Executus est id munus Fridegodus quidam, versibus non ita improbandis, nisi quod latinitatem perosus grecitatem amat, grecula verba frequentat, ut merito dictis ejus aptetur illud Plautinum: 'Haec quidem praeter Sibillam leget nemo.' "[22]
Thus the tendency to ornament one's Latin style with Greek words, which Fridegode doubtless inherited from Odo, continued to be a characteristic of the Canterbury tradition until the end.

If Canterbury, through the coming of Theodore and Hadrian, initiated the study of Greek in England, it did not long remain the only center of such interest. The fame of the teachers at Canterbury inspired a similar enthusiasm for books and learning at other places. Of Maidulf, the reputed founder of Malmesbury (about 673), and his attainments as a scholar little is definitely known. The opinion that he knew Greek rests solely on the fact that he was one of Aldhelm's first teachers. But since Aldhelm later studied at Canterbury, it is at least possible that his knowledge of Greek came from that quarter. In like manner, Acca, Bishop of Hexham (d. 740), is of importance as one who encouraged learning in others. We know that he was a companion to Wilfrid on some of his journeys, and that on one occasion he went as far as Rome. This is important for us to remember.[23] Acca's reputation as a man who encouraged the study of Greek rests largely upon the statement that he furnished his cathedral with a valuable library of Greek and Latin authors.[24] It must

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[22] William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, 22.

[23] James Raine, *The Priory of Hexham, its Chronicles, Endowments, and Annals* (Surtees Society Publications, 44, London, 1864), 32.

[24] Bede, *op. cit.*, III, 254. "Amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit." Cp. John Stevens, *The History of the Antient Abbeys, Monasteries*, etc. (London, 1772), pp. 191–192, and John Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (ed. Hall, 2v., Oxford, 1709), I, 106.

be admitted that while Acca is frequently mentioned in the records, it is usually in such general terms that nothing is added to our knowledge of what books he had, or of his own accomplishments in Greek study. Acca was very friendly with Bede, the latter having dedicated several of his works to him.[25] In the many letters which passed between the two we should expect to find some discussion of the library of Acca if it were exceptional. Bede, however, is vague in his reference to the collection, and nothing is known of Acca's books except that they perished in the Danish Invasion. However, we have a letter of Bishop Acca to Bede in which he makes some notations from several Greek authors and refers to more than one of the Fathers.[26] From this letter we must grant Acca an interest in Greek, but the evidence is meager.

Next to Canterbury as a center of Greek learning in pre-Norman England stood York. Bede (673–735) was the most important scholar connected with the northern school, although he spent most of his time at Jarrow near by. It was largely through Bede's influence that an interest in Greek developed at York. Bede wrote of himself, "semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulce habui."[27] He knew Greek well, but there is a difference of opinion as to how he learned it.[28] Apparently he came into contact with the Canterbury group[29] and owed his Greek indirectly to Theodore and Hadrian. Stubbs agreed with this view, stating that Bede got his Greek from John of Beverly, a disciple of Archbishop Theodore. The difficulty here lies in the lack of any definite proof that John of Beverly knew Greek. Another possibility presents itself, however. Bede was a pupil at one time of Benedict Biscop and may have owed his knowledge of Greek to Benedict if the latter knew Greek. In either case the school of Canterbury would be ultimately responsible. One or two other clues point to Bede's indebtedness

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[25] Cp. Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[26] Bede, *Opera* (ed. 1563), v, 175–177. This edition of Bede includes letters of Acca to Bede which are omitted in the edition by Giles.

[27] Bede, *Opera* (ed., J. A. Giles), III, 312.

[28] See Wright, *op. cit.*, I, 274.

[29] M. R. James, "The Christian Renaissance," in the *Camb. Med. Hist.*, III, 510.

to his friends at this center. For instance, in the *De Arte Metrica* he quotes Homer.[30] Now if Bede had access to a manuscript of Homer it could hardly have come to England by any other channel than through the Greek scholars at Canterbury.[31] Not much is known of the works which Theodore and Hadrian brought, but Bede had in his possession at one time The Acts already referred to.[32] Whatever the source of Bede's knowledge, he was an exceptional Greek scholar for his times. His *De Arte Metrica* is a work which would dispel any doubt on this score. In addition, he made two translations from Greek, the life of Anastasius, and the Gospel of St. John.[33]

Around such an outstanding figure as Bede, it is only natural that other scholars should gather. The student of most interest to us was Bede's pupil Egbert, Archbishop of York, who founded a library in the cathedral school there which is said to have contained Greek books.[34] This seventh century library perished in the fire of 1137, as we have noted.[35] Though the contents of this collection remain unknown to us, and though no direct evidence of Egbert's Greek learning is available, we do have a hint that he knew Greek in that his most distinguished pupil knew a little.[36] Alcuin had a slight knowledge of Greek, the

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[30] Bede, *Opera*, VI, pp. 46, 78.

[31] The Homer now at Corpus Christi College must not be confused with the one known to Bede. It is not one of the importations of the Theodorean group but one brought by Prior Selling in the fifteenth century. Savage, E. *Old English Libraries* (London, 1912), p. 26.

[32] See above, p. 27.

[33] Bede, *Opera*, (ed. Giles), I, li ff. There is an interesting though inaccurate attempt to give the succession of Greek teachers in the West from the seventh to the tenth centuries in a Leyden Ms. of Ademar de Chabannes. The list is given by a monk named Gautbert (p. 147). It states that Bede was taught by Aldhelmus and that Rhabbanus taught Alcuin although Alcuin taught Rhabbanus. The latest and most available edition of Gautbert's list is by Leopold V. Delisle. *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, XXXV (1896) I, 312. I quote the summary given on p. 312. "Theodorus monacus et abbas Adrianus Aldelmo instituerunt grammaticam artem. Aldelmus, Bedam. Beda, Rhabbanum. Rhabbanus, Alcuinum. Alcuinus, Smaragdum. Smaragdus, Theodulfum. Theodulfus, Iohannem et Heliam reliquit, sed non imbuit. Elias, Heiricum, Heiricus, Hucbaldum et Remegium. Remegius, Gerlannum episcopum. Gerlannus, Guidonem episcopum Autisiodorensium."

[34] Leland, *op. cit.*, I, 114.

[35] See above, p. 14.

[36] Sandys, I., 471ff. Cp. West, Andrew F., *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools* (New York, 1892), p. 34.

usual emphasis being laid on the use of words. Caution must be used in attributing Alcuin's knowledge to Egbert, however, for the successor to Egbert, supplanting him in 766, was Ælbert, who was head of the school until Alcuin followed him in 778.[3] As there is no evidence that Ælbert knew Greek it is a temptation to give the credit to Egbert, but the other possibility must be remembered.

Alcuin's enthusiasm for Greek probably exceeded his knowledge of the language. The library at York, already referred to, has been described by him in his now famous poem:

> Illic invenies veterum vestigia Patrum,
> Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe
> Graecia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis . . . [38]

Alcuin, however, is too enthusiastic. He claimed that his library had all the translated works of Greek writers.[39] This of course is an exaggeration. We are the more suspicious because of the limited acquaintance with Greek displayed in his own writings. His knowledge of the language has generally been overestimated; it was probably very slight.[40] Most of his theological writings were based on Latin authors, especially Jerome and Bede. His quotations are not taken at first hand from Greek writers,

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[37] Alcuin, *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis Carmen*, 3v., London, 1879–1894 (ed. J. Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, I, 395 f.). Cp. Migne, *P. L.*, CI, 812 ff. Sandys, I, 471.

[38] Migne, *P. L.*, CI, 843. The poem is quoted by Frederick Cramer, *op. cit.*, I, 40, and given in translation by Andrew West, *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools* (New York, 1892), p. 34.

[39] Cp. E. Egger, *L'Hellénisme en France* (2v., Paris, 1869), I, 44–45, who quotes from *Alcuini Opera* (ed. Froben), II, 257.

[40] J. Bass Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great* (New York, 1911), pp. 80 f. A good summary is given by Mullinger. "With respect then to the numerous quotations from the Greek to be found in Alcuin's writings, we observe that nearly all, if not all, are to be found in the works of St. Jerome, the great interpreter between the Christian literature of the East and that of the West. These quotations are, as we should expect to find, correctly given; but whenever Alcuin attempts an independent display of Greek learning he generally blunders egregiously. It is not simply that he gives specimens of his scholarship of no greater value than the following: 'Hippocrita Graeca, in Latino simulator. Hippo, enim Graece falsum, chrisis judicium interpretatur.' False etymologies are to be found in the writings of better Greek scholars than Alcuin; but the erroneous form of the nominative is far more suspicious, especially when considered in connexion with the fact that whenever he gives us a Greek nominative, it appears, as often as not, with an incorrect termination."

and even his use of Greek words is faulty. But his interest kept alive for a time the spark of Greek culture in England. With his departure in 782 to the Palace School, the tradition of Greek teaching nearly lapsed in England, and developed successively at Tours, Fulda, Auxerre, and by a circuitous route came to Paris.[41]

As already hinted,[42] Ireland could boast of some interest in Greek in the ninth century and earlier. Aldhelm reveals the fact that Greek was being taught there in his time when in a letter to Eahfrid, who had been in the higher schools in Ireland, he finds fault with the latter for having gone to the "didascoli Argivi" instead of staying to study with the masters at Canterbury.[43] It is probable that there was a greater knowledge of Greek in Ireland than at any place in England. Zimmer[44] makes the statement that the Irish Greek was not only book learning but also a living speech. At all events in the ninth century the schools of Ireland produced an exceptional Greek scholar in the person of John Scotus Erigena (c. 810–c. 875). There are many legends and fables about Erigena. One is the story in Bale that he went to Athens and studied Greek there.[45] Another apocryphal story has him a disciple of Bede. Still another makes him the founder of the University of Paris.[46] Aside from these stories, however, we know that he was at the Palace School during the time of Charles the Bald, translating Greek works. One of his most important translations was that of a Greek manuscript of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, which had been given to Pepin by Paul V.[47] Others were the *De Caelesti Ierarcha*, *De Ecclesiasti Ierarcha*, *De Divina Nominibus*, *De Mystica Theologia*, and *Epistolae*.[48] The most important work

[41] B. Hauréau, *Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique* (2v. in 3, Paris, 1872–1880), I, 147 ff.

[42] See above, p. 17.

[43] *Aldhelmi Opera* (ed. J. A. Giles, Oxford, 1844) p. 94. Cp. Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXIX, 94.

[44] H. Zimmer, "Ueber directe Handelsverbindunger Westgallien mit Ireland," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademi der Wissenschafter*. Philosophisch-historische Klasse (Berlin, 1909), pp. 560 f.

[45] John Bale, *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium* (1548), fol. 64.

[46] Vincent of Beauvais follows this view, *Speculum Historiale* (Cologne, 1494), pp. 173f, 308. Cp. *D. N. B.*, *sub* Scotus.

[47] Hauréau, *op. cit.*, I, 152.

[48] *D. N. B.*, *sub* Scotus.

of Erigena, however, was περὶ Φυσέως μερισμου, a work in which he quotes Dionysius, Gregory the Great, and the *Categories* of Aristotle.[49] He knew Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzum, and Origen as well. Thus, while England was being overrun by the Danes, the Palace School was preserving Greek learning. Moreover, as a translator Erigena was unusual.[50] He represented a change in attitude toward Greek learning. The older traditions of Bede and Alcuin gave place in Erigena to a spirit of inquiry and discussion which was entirely new. To use the phrase of William of Malmesbury, "In Graecos acriter oculos intendit."[51] It is possible, also, that Erigena had more facilities for Greek study than the average translator of his times. The version which he had of Plato's *Timaeus* was not the version of Chalcidius, which was the popular one. Possibly Erigena had an original.[52]

John Erigena's influence would have been greater had his views provoked less opposition. He was always being attacked. His principal works were burned in 1226 by order of Honorius III as heretical,[53] and the feeling against his writings lasted many years. Even as late as 1681 the study of Erigena's works was prohibited at Oxford. Whether Erigena was ever in England or not is beyond proof. It would be an important discovery could we find that he had been at Malmesbury.[54] Nevertheless, in spite of the opposition to his writings, and in spite of the possibility that he was never in England, his influence was felt in England as well as in France. He was a worthy successor to Alcuin at the Palace School and a far better Greek scholar. Some fragments of his Greek works may have found their way to England. At least his translations were accessible to English students who went to France. Among scholars of the Middle Ages he was an outstanding figure, and even in England helped not a little to stimulate interest in Greek.

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[49] Sandys, I, 494.

[50] Cp. Martene E., and Durand, V., *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum* (5v., Paris, 1717), III., 507B.

[51] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, I, 131.

[52] Hauréau, *op. cit.*, I, 152.

[53] On Erigena, see Hauréau, *op. cit.*, I, 148–175; R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought* (London, 1884), pp. 53–68; cp. Sandys, I, 491 ff. For his works see Migne, *P. L.*, CXXII.

[54] Hauréau, *op. cit.*, I, 148ff.

The tenth century showed promise of a general revival of interest in learning which, had it continued, might have had consequences of some importance for the study of Greek. The beginnings of the revival date back to Alfred, but his efforts did not bear fruit until the following century. Alfred had instigated many changes. His reforms touched the political, social, religious, and cultural life of his day. While moving to check the Danes, to build a navy, to organize finances, and to codify the laws, he took a preliminary step to restore learning by translating or having translated several important works into English. That this was a necessary step is evident from his own preface to the *Pastoral Care* where he laments the deplorable ignorance of Latin even among the clergy. Alfred's aim was to save for his people the little learning that remained and disseminate it as well as he could through the medium of the vernacular. In this effort he could call upon only a few men. Except for Plegmund he was forced to go outside his own kingdom for these and get Grimbald and John the Saxon from the continent and Asser from South Wales.

After Alfred's death (c. 900) the advance of learning was checked somewhat, for his son, Edward, was too warlike to interest himself in intellectual matters, but under Æthelstan (c. 924–940) Alfred's ideas were again carried out. Æthelstan was not merely a warrior, but is known as a donor of manuscripts and a collector of relics. His gifts to churches and monasteries include a missal, several texts of the Gospels, a life of St. Cuthbert in prose and verse, a psalter, and a manuscript containing works of Aldhelm and Prudentius.[55] Whether these gifts were inspired by others or emanated from a natural bent of the King's mind, they indicate a willingness on his part to promote the intellectual and spiritual well-being of his people.

It is important to realize that the promotion of learning was part of a larger movement toward reform, in which the beginnings that had been made under Alfred were continued. There were considerable developments in law and politics[56];

[55] J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of St. Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 51 ff., and especially p. 69.

[56] William Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History* (8th ed. Oxford, 1895), pp. 60–61. Cp. Maitland, S. R., *The Constitutional History of England*. Cambridge, 1920 (1st ed., 1908), pp. 2–3.

Edgar's reign, especially, saw a considerable body of legislation added, and the adoption of a policy of treating Dane and Englishman with exact equality, particularly in the matter of appointments to high office. In addition, certain broad social and religious reforms were effected in this period of activity and change. There was a general movement for the purification of morals, in which Dunstan was a leader. The marriage of closely related persons and of the clergy was checked. Churches and monasteries which had been falling into ruin and had been abandoned were rebuilt under the efforts of Odo, Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald. At the same time the monastic groups were reorganized and there came a stricter adherence to the rules of monastic life. This monastic reform, the so-called Benedictine or Cluniac movement, carried with it important consequences, and we must pause for a moment to consider it.

The Benedictine movement reached England in the third decade of the century, when monastic life had reached its lowest ebb. As already noted the monastic buildings were decaying or in ruins. Some groups had abandoned their houses and scattered. Where communities of religious people still existed they were commonly composed of secular priests who knew no rule. Carelessness in the performance of their spiritual duties and laxity of morals accompanied the general absence of discipline. In many cases wealth produced idleness and the resulting indulgence in feasting, excessive drinking, and lust. Violence and extortion on the part of officials were not uncommon. Gay attire replaced the religious habit, and personal adornment became a common vice.[57] Odo of Cluny's complaint about the breaking of the vows of chastity and the indulgence of luxurious tastes on the part of the clergy[58] in France would have applied equally well to England. The story of the drinking bout of Eadred, his nobles, and the Abbot of Abingdon, is told by Æthelwold's disciple with the reformer's relish,[59] but appar-

[57] William Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest* (London, 1899), pp. 230 ff.

[58] G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1929), I 262–264. Coulton refers to the *Collationes* of Odo of Cluny which deal with the monastic conditions, i.e. Nos. 554, 565d, 568a, 574d, 583a, 586b.

[59] Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

rently drunkenness and immorality were not only accepted with complaisance but condoned, whether found among the lower classes, in the ranks of the clergy, or among high Church officials and members of the royal families. It goes without saying that in the midst of such conditions learning of all kinds was neglected.

Avowedly the Benedictine reformers set to work primarily to correct these abuses. In many cases one of the first steps which they took was to collect money for rebuilding the ruined monastic houses. As groups of monks were reorganized, a stricter observance of the monastic rules was insisted upon. In France, and especially at Cluny and Fleury, a return was made to the Rule of St. Benedict, with a few moderations made by Benedict of Aniane. More emphasis was laid upon the religious services and less time was devoted to reading, agriculture, and other secular occupations. In England, also, a new meaning attached to the taking of monastic vows and, as an aid in the movement, Edgar caused Æthelwold to translate the Benedictine Rule into English, in his *Concordia Regularis*.

In England, however, there was less severity in following the religious code, and more evidence of interest in intellectual pursuits. The main purpose was to keep the monks busy. It did not matter so much to what they gave their efforts. Much time was devoted to reading and to the learning of arts and crafts. The importance of Latin was felt and it became necessary for those entering upon the monastic life to study this language. But everyone had to be active. Even the leaders of the movement in England, such men as Dunstan and Æthelwold, were not ashamed to indulge in the labors of a craftsman. Furthermore, in England, in association with many monasteries, there grew up schools for boys who were not preparing to be monks.[60] Under such teachers as Dunstan, Æthelwold, Abbo of Fleury, Oswald, Byrhtferth, and Germanus, a new era of learning was beginning.

It would be natural to suppose that in the reform of the monasteries the schools connected with them would become strongholds of learning. In fact, it has been a fairly widespread opinion

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[60] Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (London, 1929), pp. 154–155.

that the monastic schools were responsible for the preservation of much of the learning of the Middle Ages. More recent study of the evidence, however, shows that the preservation and spread of knowledge was not exclusively or even chiefly the work of monastic schools. Such schools were in reality but small groups of novices, *oblati*, offered to God and expected to become monks, who were taught by monks to read the Bible, to repeat the Benedictine Rule, and to sing.[61] No attempt was made to teach them the Latin classics, mathematics, or philosophy. It was an elementary and meager training that the novices received. An offshoot of this school, hardly worthy of the name, was the instruction given in the almonry or in the infirmary of the monastery. This instruction was extended to some outsiders, probably the sons of wealthy neighbors, who might be seized and held for ransom while their fathers were away, and so were put into places of refuge and protection. A few poor boys were also sometimes admitted.[62] Such schools were never large, however, and the priest taught the boys much the same matter that the novices were given. Outside the monasteries, moreover, were schools called variously people's, cathedral, or grammar schools, where the secular clergy taught a wider range of subjects to the boys of the community.[63] All of these schools were important in the spread of learning. While more emphasis was laid upon certain humanistic studies in the cathedral schools, and many of the finest teachers of the time were to be found among the secular clergy, it must not be concluded that the monastic school and the monastery were unimportant in the spread of culture. The whole educational system was under the control of the Church. The very presence of a bishop anywhere meant a group of secular clergymen around him. Licenses to teach were distributed as benefices by the bishop or his agent.[64] Often vacancies in the Church were filled by the bishop from among men who had their earliest preparation for such work

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[61] A. F. Leach, *The History of Winchester College* (New York, 1899), pp. 11 ff.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[63] A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915), p. 95. Cp. F. P. Graves, *A Student's History of Education* (New York, 1915, 2nd ed., 1918) p. 56.
[64] *Victoria County History*, XIII, *Gloucester* (London, 1907), Pt. II, 315.

in either type of school. So though the cathedral schools were separate, this link of the superintending bishop connected them with the religious system. The bishop, himself a busy man, seldom taught in the schools at first, or bothered much with them. But in the places where the seculars had been expelled, in the tenth century, we sometimes find him engaged in teaching. It was under the teaching of Dunstan, Æthelwold, Oswald, and Ælfric, as we shall see, that the narrow bounds laid down for monastic education were extended.

The intellectual revival which accompanied the Benedictine movement in England owed not a little to influences from without. Although the impulse to reform seems to have been of native origin it received a powerful impetus from the continent. Flanders and Northern France were the districts from which the greatest influence was felt. There was an interesting link between Flanders and England through Alfred's descendants. His daughter had married Count Baldwin and was interested in the work of reform on the continent, while his two grandsons, Eadred and Arnulf, were actively engaged, though in different countries, in the work of restoration. While Eadred was restoring Glastonbury and Abingdon, Arnulf was doing similar work at St. Bertin, St. Vedast, and Blandinium. As the monastic revival got under way, it was strengthened by contact with the French schools. Fleury had become the center of the Benedictines on the continent, partly because it boasted the bones of St. Benedict and partly because of the severity there of the Benedictine system. Odo of Canterbury had gone there to receive the habit of monasticism. Æthelwold went to Fleury to study the system, having sent Osgar earlier when he could not go himself. Oswald, probably through the influence of his uncle, Odo, or at least with his approval, studied at Fleury, and later sent for Abbo of Fleury to have him teach at Ramsey.[65] Germanus, another outstanding teacher of the period, had also studied there. Dunstan had seen the Benedictine system at work at Blandinium in Ghent, when he was exiled by

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[65] Cp. William Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan* (London, 1874), pp. cxx ff. for the relationship of England and Flanders.

Edwy.[66] Through these various contacts England learned what was taking place across the channel and profited by the experience of the continental reformers.

If we look for the leaders of the movement for the restoration of learning in England in the tenth century, we shall have first to consider a man whose importance has frequently been underestimated. Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury from 942 until his death in 959, was educated under Athulf or Ethelwulf. He was a great scholar himself and reputed to be proficient in Greek. From 927 to 942 Odo was bishop of Ramsbury, in 937 going into the battle of Brunanburh with Æthelstan. He was a man of considerable influence with Edwy, Æthelstan, Dunstan, and with Oswald, his nephew. In 942 he went to Fleury and studied the system there, but although he was an earnest reformer, made a special effort to promote celibacy, and stood for the obedience of kings to bishops, our interest in him here lies chiefly in the facts that he was apparently the man behind Dunstan and Æthelwold in the development of the Benedictine movement in England, that he encouraged learning and was influential in the planning of the education of his nephew, Oswald, and that he carried on the tradition of Alfred and Æthelstan, the national enthusiasm for broader learning and better civilization, rather than the severe monastic influence of Fleury.[67]

The most important figure in the revival of learning in this century was Dunstan (909?–988).[68] In truth he was important in many other ways as well. He attended Eadred, Edwy, and Edgar. He was responsible for much of the legislation which was produced in Edgar's reign. His position in the Church was as noteworthy as his influence in the State. He became a Benedictine and advanced rapidly, holding the offices successively of Abbot of Glastonbury, Bishop of Worcester and London, and Archbishop of Canterbury. His activity in restoring monasteries

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[66] Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

[67] For the life of Odo see Osbern's *Vita Odonis* printed in Henry Wharton *Anglia Sacra* II, 78ff. Cp. Migne, *P. L.*, CXXXIII, 931.

[68] J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 92–95.

was widely recognized even in France. When he fled to Ghent, exiled by Edwy, he saw the Benedictine system in operation there. A great reformer himself, a leader in the movement for the purification of morals and in correcting the evil living of the clergy, he was not violent or bitter. He did not expel the secular clergy, nor did he use the violent methods of Edgar and Æthelwold in reforming monastic life. His nature was fundamentally gentle and kindly. Apparently his interests lay chiefly in the development of culture in England.[69] He was a genuine follower of the tradition of Alfred. In spite of his pressing duties of Church and State, he found time to establish schools and also to teach. Winchester's fame owes much to Dunstan's efforts and the work of his pupils. We shall have occasion to discuss his scholarship and teaching later. It is sufficient to suggest at the moment that he was the great English teacher of the tenth century, a central figure from whom radiated many other scholars and teachers inspired to carry on the interest in an English culture.

Æthelwold (d. 984) was also an important figure in the revival of learning, though his fame has rested chiefly upon his activity as a religious reformer. He has sometimes been held responsible for the spread of the Benedictine reform in England.[70] This view comes from the fact that he translated the Rule into English in his *Concordia Regularis* and was aggressively active in cleaning up monastic conditions. But after all he was only using a different method to accomplish the same end as Dunstan. Born at Winchester, he had come under the same influences as Dunstan, namely, the teaching of Ælfheah, and the atmosphere of the court of Æthelstan.[71] He had been Dunstan's disciple at Winchester, and through his master's efforts was made a prior at Glastonbury. Not satisfied here, however, and knowing of the importance of Fleury, he wanted to go there to study. His own importance in England is seen from the fact that Eadred refused to allow him to leave England, advancing him to the

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[69] William Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Introd. and *passim*.
[70] Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
[71] For the life of Æthelwold, see Wulstan's *Vita Aethelwoldi*. Cp. Migne, *P. L.*, CXXXVII, 83 ff.

position of Abbot at Abingdon. Here he did for Abingdon what Dunstan was doing for Glastonbury. Meanwhile he sent Osgar to Fleury to learn of the reforms which had been instituted there. He went to Fleury himself later. By 963 the stage was set for a greater reformation of the monasteries. Æthelwold was naturally a leader. He had been made bishop of Winchelcombe and he now expelled the secular clergy. He also took over the old minster at Winchester and drove out the clerks. Together with Edgar, who was as enthusiastic as he was, he rapidly spread the work of reformation. His *Concordia Regularis* was a step in the direction of securing some degree of uniformity in the monastic observances. Although Æthelwold shows the continental influence in England more strongly than Dunstan, he was also interested in English learning. It must not be forgotten that, like his master, he was also a great teacher, not only of books but also of the arts and crafts. He was one of the leading spirits in the revival of learning.

Oswald (d. 992) saw the revival of learning at its height. A nephew of Odo and well-to-do, Oswald had purchased the old minster at Winchester. Finding life there little to his taste, since there was much indulgence and little care given to monastic rules,[72] he followed his uncle's example in going to Fleury, where he became inspired with the new Benedictinism. In 959 he was returning to England at Odo's request, but the latter died before he arrived. After a trip to Rome, Oswald was made Bishop of Worcester through Dunstan's help. He was then ready to take up his work in the revival. He founded Ramsey (c. 968), which through his efforts became a center of learning. It was through Oswald that Abbo of Fleury came to Ramsey to teach and also that Germanus was later called to the same house. Other schools were started by Oswald. He sent Germanus to Winchelcombe, and Westbury came under his influence. In 972 Oswald was made Archbishop of York, but he continued to hold his see at Worcester and to watch over his monasteries. Thus with Dunstan at Glastonbury and Winchester, Æthelwold at Abingdon, Oswald and Germanus and Abbo

[72] William Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 347, 348. Cp. William Stubbs, *op. cit.*, Introd., and p. lxxxvii.

of Fleury at Ramsey, and Germanus at Winchelcombe and Westbury, the movement toward intellectual rehabilitation was now well under way.

Unfortunately little is known of Byrhtferth, who beyond all doubt was influential in the spread of learning. Byrhtferth probably flourished about 950–1000 and originally lived at Thorney.[73] At least we know that about 970 he went to the newly founded Abbey of Ramsey and that he was the pupil there of Abbo of Fleury.[74] It is likely that he was later the head of the Ramsey School.[75] The works of Byrhtferth are still a matter of dispute,[76] but we can be fairly certain that he wrote commentaries on Bede's *De Natura Rerum* and *De Temporum Ratione*, and a *Manual*. Though his style has been severely criticized,[77] Byrhtferth showed a rather remarkable range of learning and was widely read in classic writers. His part in the reform lies in the fact that he was taking definite steps to follow Alfred's suggestion of making knowledge available to the man who knew little of other tongues. There is a wealth of information in Byrhtferth's *Manual*, which was written to help the English student. The teacher is ever present in the *Manual* and his tone is a condescending one.[78] Moreover, he makes no pretense to originality, gathering his material from Bede, Isidore, Pliny, Macrobius, and others, merely to explain their ideas, as he frequently says, to the younger monks.

The fame of Ælfric (995?–1030), the greatest prose writer before the Conquest, rests chiefly on his authorship of three courses of *Homilies* (990–996). It must not be overlooked, however, that he was interested in preparing schoolbooks. Ælfric was the great helper of Æthelwold in making Winchester

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[73] For the life of Byrhtferth, see K. M. Classen, *Ueber das Leben und die Schriften Byrhtferths* (Dresden, 1896). For an excellent though brief treatment of Byrhtferth, see George F. Forsey, "Byrhtferth's Preface," *Speculum*, III (1928), 505–522.

[74] *D. N. B. sub* Byrhtferth. That he was at Ramsey studying may be gathered from his own statement that he studied there. S. J. Crawford, *Byrhtferth's Manual* (London, E.E.T.S., 178, 1929), I, 15.

[75] *D. N. B.*

[76] Forsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 506 ff.

[77] *Ibid.*, *passim*, and especially pp. 513–514.

[78] Crawford, *op. cit.*, *passim*. See, for example, p. 7.

a center of education. Ælfric's part in the movement was to furnish texts. In the first place he wrote a Latin *Grammar* which has two prefaces, the one in English explaining that the book was based on the greater and lesser Priscian, to be used as a supplement to Donatus.[79] The Latin *Grammar* was followed by a *Glossary* of approximately 3,000 words in Latin and English. Another educational work, the *Colloquium*, was an attempt to teach Latin by the conversational method. Another work of Ælfric—it is generally attributed to him and has his alliterative style—is the version of the *Hexameron* of St. Basil. This version is not a literal translation, and only part of it is original, part having been taken from Bede's commentary on Genesis. All of Ælfric's works show a tendency to borrow; even his homilies are not those of an original thinker. But Ælfric was interested in teaching, and in the handing on of knowledge. It was with this purpose in mind that he labored.

As a result of the movement instituted by Alfred to make the learning of the Latins available to the English student, by the middle of the eleventh century a considerable corpus of varied knowledge was made accessible. Alfred provided Orosius, Bede, and Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. Æthelwold gave his version of the Benedictine Rule. Ælfric made a digest of the *Concordia Regularis* besides his other compilations. Abbo of Fleury wrote a treatise on grammar for the students at Ramsey, called the *Quaestiones Grammaticales*. He also wrote a circular letter to the English monks, and a life of St. Edmund to give the monks a model of Latin style. Finally Byrhtferth's *Manual* was an outstanding attempt at popularization. It includes a variety of matters from discussions of the calendar and mathematical computations to a treatment of the figures of speech. Such works show clearly the direction which English intellectual effort was taking in this period.

In spite of the improved conditions for study and a growing interest in all kinds of knowledge, there was seemingly little

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[79] John S. Westlake, "From Alfred to the Conquest," *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 131. On Ælfric see also C. L. White, *Aelfric: A New Study of His Life and Writings*. (Yale Studies in English, II, 1898, and the Introduction to Walter W. Skeat's *Aelfric's Lives of Saints* (London, 1871).

study of Greek. The Odo-Fridegode tradition at Canterbury has been mentioned and we know that Fridegode wrote in Greek.[80] In the life of St. Odo, moreover, we read that Athelm "Deinde GraecaLatina lingua magistris edocendum eum tradidit; quarum linguarum plerisque tunc temporis in gente Anglorum usus erat a discipulis beatae memoriae Theodori Archiepiscopi profectus. Factus quo-que est in utraque lingua valde gnarus; ita ut posset poemata fingere, prosam continuare, omnino, quicquid ei animo sederet luculentissimo sermone proferre."[81] Besides Odo and Fridegode, Dunstan may have known some Greek. His reputation as a Greek scholar rests for the most part on a book which he had, containing among other things a quantity of extracts from the Scriptures in Greek and Latin.[82] His own writings show only the usual use of Greek words, as do also those of his biographer.[83] No extensive knowledge of the language can be claimed for Dunstan, and whatever Greek he picked up was perhaps that which was available in Greek hymns and versicles, or in the stock quotations from the Church Fathers.[84] Æthelwold, the pupil of Dunstan, shows little evidence of any Greek, but in his pupil, Ælfric, the use of Greek words appears again. Æthelwold, however, loved to teach the difficulties of Donatus and Priscian to his students at Winchester, and it may be assumed that he had the same acquaintance with Greek words[85] though he did not love display as did Ælfric. Ælfric has been a puzzle to scholars. Particularly upon the subject of his knowledge of

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[80] John H. Newman, *Historical Sketches* (London, 1840, 2nd ed., 1894–97), II, 463.

[81] H. Wharton, *op. cit.*, II, 79. Cp. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Saec.*, V, p. 289. This passage is quoted by Newman, *op. cit.*, II, 463, note.

[82] William Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Introd. and p. cxxii. Stubbs puts in a defense for Dunstan's knowing Greek. He pleads that what had happened in one case (Erigena's) might occur again in Dunstan's.

[83] If Byrhtferth was the biographer. See George F. Forsey, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

[84] This is the opinion also of Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. cxxii.

[85] In the *Concordia Regularis*, Æthelwold suggests the use of the Greek hymn "Kyrie eleison," Migne, *P. L.*, CXXXVII, 485. Again he orders the use of Greek words in the Easter services. ("Quibus expletis per ordinem, statim praeparetur crux ante altare, interpositio spatio inter ipsam et altare hinc et inde a duobus diaconibus. Tunc cantent *Populi meus*, respondentes autem duo subdiaconi stantes ante crucem canant Graece, *Agios O Theos, Agios ischiros, Agios athanatos, eleison imas.*" Migne, *P. L.*, CXXXVII, 492.

Greek have there been conflicting views. Miss C. L. White[86] decides that he knew very little Greek, but at the same time she admits that he knew a few words, and cites a few examples of those he used. Ælfric's use of the word "dactyli" (dates) as finger apples,[87] at first glance seems to show that he felt the significance of the Greek word. Such an observation, however, is of uncertain value as the Anglo-Saxon word for dates was similar. As in all his works Ælfric shows a tendency to borrow, on the whole we must conclude that such acquaintance with Greek as he had was obtained at second hand.[88] Byrhtferth, however, knew more Greek than can be explained by a use of hymns or Church books or glossaries. He explains the months and years as well as the rhetorical figures from the Greek words and phrases and a perusal of his *Manual* gives the feeling that here was one man who understood considerable Greek. When we consider the amount of Greek, however, which is displayed throughout the period of this revival we must admit that the knowledge of the language was slight. The revival was in no sense a revival of Greek, but rather an attempt to render knowledge of any kind intelligible to students of a period when learning was in a bad state—an attempt to institute a movement which only years later would bring another searching into the original texts.

The revival of learning did not extend far into the eleventh century. It came to an abrupt close soon after the death of Ælfric. The reason was largely the Norman Conquest and the resultant confusion. In England study of all kinds received a temporary check and Greek practically disappeared. There was no center of Greek activity. If the influence of any group was felt in

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[86] C. L. White, *op. cit.*, p. 73. Miss White says that Ælfric "might perhaps have known Greek, since the knowledge of it had never quite been lost in England. It is clear, however, that he did not, for he nowhere shows any independent acquaintance with the significance of Greek words. When he does use them, he generally gives them correctly. 'The Holy Ghost,' he says, following Bede, 'is called in the Greek language "Paraclitus," that is, "Spirit of Comfort"'". Once he writes a word of a Greek stem: the six jars at the marriage at Cana are called in his text hydriae, in which is the Greek word hydor, 'water.' In this etymology also he follows Bede."

[87] In this connection see Oswald Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft in Early England* (3v., London, 1864–1865), II, xxviii.

[88] Westlake, *op. cit.*, I, 141.

England, it was the influence of the school of Bec, for during the eleventh century two of the Archbishops of Canterbury came from this center. The first was Lanfranc. He was born in Pavia (1005), studied the liberal arts and law in Italy, studied also at Bec, became Abbot of Caen (1066), and later Archbishop of Canterbury (1070–1089). Outside the Abbey at Bec Lanfranc had taught a school, collecting numerous wandering scholars because of the freshness of his subjects. He is said to have studied Greek,[89] though if he did know Greek, he put it to no use, at least in England. Lanfranc has been highly praised[90] and bitterly attacked, and there is much to be said on both sides. If, however, he checked the movement to readmit seculars into monasteries, it was a step which was unfortunate for English learning, for the seculars were frequently more learned than the monks. In his known writings Lanfranc nowhere shows any great zeal for classical learning. In his Constitutions[91] (*Decreta pro ordine S. Benedicto*) he shows himself interested primarily in the Church's purely religious activities rather than in the culture which had begun to develop in England in the preceding century. He did show some interest in learning by collecting books and by giving these to monastic houses,[92] and he corrected some manuscripts which he found in England that had been incorrectly copied.[93] But in his chapter (XXI) on the training of boys in schools, he is interested in discipline (he is one of the men called *magister ordinis*) and does not say a word about the learning they should receive.[94] In England Lanfranc's influence on the study of the classics in general and Greek in

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[89] Migne, *P. L.*, CL, 29b. "Ipsa quoque in liberabilibus studiis magistra gentium Graecia, discipulos illius libenter audiebat et admirabatur."

[90] Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, p. 40. "To understand the admirable genius and erudition of Lanfranc, one ought to be a Herodian in Grammar, an Aristotle in dialectics, a Tully in rhetoric, an Augustine and Jerome and other expositors of the law and grace in the sacred Scriptures. Athens itself would have honored Lanfranc in every branch of eloquence." Cp. A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, p. 96. Here Leach says that one of the worst effects of the Conquest in England was that it brought the "Italian adventurer" to Canterbury.

[91] Migne, *P. L.*, CL, 443–516.

[92] Hook, *op. cit.*, II, 97–98. Cp. Matthew Paris, *Vitae Abbatum S. Albani*, in Walsingham, *Gesta abbatum*, edited by H. T. Riley, 3v. (Rolls Series), I 51.

[93] Hook, *Ibid.*, II, 98.

[94] Migne, *P. L.*, CL, 506–507.

particular amounted to little. If he knew Greek or had any influence on the study of it, it showed itself not directly but indirectly through his pupil, Anselm.

Anselm (1033–1109), also a Lombard, desirous of a monastic life, came to Bec about 1060, where he came into contact with Lanfranc. When the latter went to Caen (1066), Anselm became prior at Bec. For nearly thirty years he spent his time quietly in the pursuit of studies chiefly theological in nature. After his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury following Lanfranc's death, his life became so involved that he could give little time to learning. The quarrels with William Rufus and Henry I,[95] and the journeyings to and from the continent occupied all his time. Though a great scholar himself he exerted little influence upon the course of English learning. Anselm's acquaintance with Greek may have come as one of the benefits of his association with Lanfranc. Anselm, however, knew more Greek than Lanfranc. He does quote the opinions of the Greeks,[96] inquires for copies of Greek works,[97] and uses Greek names for the titles of his books, the *Monologion* and *Proslogion*. But neither Lanfranc nor Anselm had any lasting influence on Greek study; no tradition of Greek study resulted from their presence in England.

Until the twelfth century, then, we find little study of Greek in England. The introduction of Greek at Canterbury and the spread of an interest in the language to York and Winchester are important as promising a more general diffusion later. A temporary check came when the tradition of learning passed from York to the continent. The intellectual revival of the tenth century, which gave some promise, was interrupted by

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[95] It is possible that Henry I knew Greek. The evidence is not conclusive but the question is rather well discussed in Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (5v., Oxford, 1869–1876), IV (edition of 1873) 536 ff.

[96] Migne, *P. L.*, CLVIII., 1144c. "Nesciebant enim sic non dici proprie de Deo tres personas, quomodo tres substantias; quadam tamen ratione, ob indigentiam nominis proprie significantis illam pluralitatem, quae in summa Trinitate intelligitur, Latinos dicere tres personas credendas in una substantia; Graecos vero non minus fideliter tres substantias in una persona confiteri."

[97] *Ibid.*, 1120c. "Glossas aphorismi si omnes potes scribere gaudeo; sin autem, eas quae sunt Graecorum aut inusitatorum nominum ne deseras admoneo."

the conquests of the eleventh century. In England at this time only the most modest start had been made. As yet the facilities for Greek study, such as the presence of Greeks in England or the existence of translators or texts,[98] were still very limited.

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[98] For the question of the Greek manuscripts in England at this time see below, Chapter VIII.

IV

The Twelfth Century

Much has been written about the Renaissance of the twelfth century and its accompanying developments—the rise of the universities, the spread of the mendicant orders, and the discovery of the new Aristotle. On the continent, especially, a new learning was developing and evidences of a quickened intellect were variously to be met with. In this intellectual revival, the study of Greek has a part. In Italy Grossolano, Archbishop of Milan (d. 1117), was a noteworthy Hellenist. He had been sent to Constantinople by Pascal II, and had written an argument in Greek on the procession of the Holy Ghost.[1] Jacobus Clericus of Venice had translated and explained the *Topics*, *Analytics*, and *Sophistici Elenchi* of Aristotle. Alberico of Bologna (c. 1150) was the translator of Hippocrates. Two others, brothers, Hugo and Leo, the Tuscans (1170–1177), had been to Constantinople and engaged in Greek discussions there, besides which Leo made a rendering of the *Oneirocritici Graeci*. In Germany at this time David "the Scot" was working on the *De Interpretatione;* Otto of Freising was studying Aristotle; and Wibald, Abbot of Corvey, was reading the Greek and Latin writers, the poets as well as the philosophers. In France Hugo of St. Victor (d. 1142), translated Dionysius the Areopagite.[2] An abbot of Fleury, Macarius (d. 1146), may have compiled a Greek lexicon, basing it almost entirely upon Suidas. The point is a disputed one. Guillaume de Gap, Abbot of St. Denis from 1172–3 to 1180, brought some books from Constantinople in 1167, among them some Greek manuscripts connected with Dionysius the Areopagite.[3] Pierre le Chantre, Bishop of Paris (d. 1197), mentions many Greek authorities—Aristippus, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Diogenes, Epicurus, and others—as if he were

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[1] Sandys, I, 557.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 556. For Hugo's works see Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXV–CLXXVII.

[3] Brechillet Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions Latines d'Aristote* (Paris, 1843), pp. 46 f.

acquainted with them.[4] The school at Chartres was the stronghold of the classics in the twelfth century under the brothers Bernard and Theodoric. A sound preparation was given there for a study of the classics. In John of Salisbury's day (1138), William of Conches and Richard l'Évêque were teaching there and the methods were praised by John himself.[5] Practically all the teaching, however, was through the medium of the Latin.

While signs are not wanting that the spirit of twelfth century humanism was reaching England, such signs are neither so early nor so numerous as we might expect. England lagged behind France, catching up in some respects only in the thirteenth century. This is especially apparent in the very slow advance made in the study of Greek. There was increase in the knowledge of hitherto unknown works of Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolemy, and the Greek physicians, which was filtering in through Arabic scholars in Spain, as well as some knowledge of the Greek Fathers obtained through Italian teachers and translators.[6] But when we search for men who knew the Greek language, and who were equipped to read or translate Greek texts, we find the twelfth century in England surprisingly barren. There is no one who gives unmistakable proof of knowing Greek, and no one of marked influence in arousing interest in the language. The nearest approach to such a student at this time was John of Salisbury, but in spite of his encyclopedic knowledge and his championship of humanism, he seems to have had little influence upon the actual study of Greek. There was no center with a Theodore or a Hadrian to gather disciples and send out missionaries. In the absence of inspiring leadership, evidences of Greek learning in the period are strangely scattered, and on the whole of minor significance.

Among these evidences, slight as they are, is the appearance about the middle of the century of a compilation called the

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[4] Migne, *P. L.*, CCV, 30d. Cp. Sandys, I, 556.

[5] Metalogicus I, 24. The methods were similar to those laid down by Quintilian. "Ergo ab auctoritate ejusdem Quintiliani, in praelegendo, Grammaticus et illa quidem minora praestare debebit, ut partes orationis reddi sibi soluto versu desideret, et pedum proprietates, quae debent in carminibus notae esse." Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 853.

[6] Charles H. Haskins, *The Rise of Universities* (New York, 1923), p. 8.

Panormia, by Osbern, a monk of Gloucester. The exact date of its composition is not known, nor indeed is much known of the writer except his work.[7] The *Panormia*, an elaborate dictionary filling 632 octavo pages of print, contains glosses of Greek and Latin words and discussions of etymology, proving that the author knew something of the Greek language. Inaccuracies, however, show clearly that Osbern was not expert, and his liberal use of earlier scholars leads us to believe that any knowledge of the language which he possessed was gained at second hand.[8] How well known the *Panormia* was in the twelfth century is a question. Few manuscripts exist or are known to have existed. As it is, even the copy at the abbey at Gloucester in Leland's time has been lost.[9] Yet it had some influence upon later compilers of similar works. The famous book of *Derivations* of Hugutio, professor at Bologna, was based upon Papias and Osbern, and Alexander of Villedieu also used the *Panormia*.[10]

The outstanding scholar of twelfth century England was John of Salisbury (1120–1180). His education was carried out for the most part on the continent. When a mere boy he went to Paris to study, and attended some of the lectures of Abelard on Mont St. Geneviève. After the departure of Abelard, he

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[7] Thomas Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria* (London, 1848, Pt. II, Anglo-Norman Period), p. 159. Wright believed that Osbern flourished about 1150 for he dedicated some of his work to Gilbert of Hereford who was bishop 1149–1162. The *Panormia* he dedicated to the abbot Hamelin. This dedication suggests the possibility that Hamelin inspired the work. The probability that Hamelin knew Greek, however, is slight.

[8] Osbern owed much to Isidore. See Gustavus Loewe, *Prodromus Corporis Glossariorum Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1826), p. 243. Glossematici Osberni . . . fontes sunt Pauli Festus, Isidorus."

[9] Thomas Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 160. Wright, following Leland, mentions the copy once at Gloucester, but Wright apparently did not know of any copy of the *Panormia* then existing. For the text of the *Panormia*, see *Thesaurus Novus Latinitatis sive lexicon vetus e membranis nunc primum erutum*, in A. Mai, *Classici Auctores e Vaticanis Codicibus editi*, Tomus VIII. For proof of the identity of this work with the *Panormia*, see Gustavus Loewe, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 ff. "Scriptorem esse Osbernum monachum Glocestrensem librique titulum 'Panormia' demonstravit ('Pannormiam vel pannormiam Ivonis venerabilis Carnotenis episcopi' habes in codice Bernensi 422 S. XII. Osbernus post Ivonem floruit)."

[10] Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 133, 137. See also Dietrich Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei* (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XII, Berlin, 1893), p. lxxxii n. 6

studied dialectic at the schools of Alberic of Rheims and Robert of Melun. The next three years were given over to a study of grammar under William of Conches at Chartres.[11] At the same center John studied the *Quadrivium* and logic and theology with Gilbert de la Porrée. He had associations with many other scholars of the time, including Richard l'Évêque, Petrus Elias, Theodoric, Adam of Petit Pont, and Odo of Kent.[12] Though pressed at times by poverty and forced to support himself by teaching the sons of noblemen, he persisted in his studies and acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the subjects of medieval learning far wider than was usual in the twelfth century. After ten or twelve years on the continent, he returned to England where he became successively secretary to three archbishops at Canterbury, Theobald, Becket,[13] and Richard. During the years spent as secretary, John continued to find time to study and write. Sent on numerous missions into France and Italy, he says that on one of these trips he studied parts of the *Organon* in the Greek with a Greek interpreter.[14] Toward the end of his life (1176–1180) he became bishop of Chartres and died on the continent.

Although John of Salisbury was interested in Greek and recognized the importance of Greek writers, he shows little knowledge of the language himself.[15] He never claimed a sufficient knowledge of Greek for reading works in that medium without assistance. That he had difficulty with the language

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[11] C. Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis nach Leben und Studien, Schriften und Philosophe* (Leipzig, 1862), p. 22.

[12] In his 267th Epistle John intimates that he studied theology under Odo of Kent. Cp. Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 308.

[13] John of Salisbury was closely associated with Thomas à Becket and supported him in his clash with the King. John was exiled from England because of his part in this struggle. It was largely through Becket's efforts that he was raised to the position at Chartres. See Thomas Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 233–242.

[14] *Metalogicus*, I, 15. Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 843. It has been suggested that the learned Greek was Henricus Aristippus, and the place of study Beneventum. For further discussion of this subject, see C. H. Haskins and D. P. Lockwood, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI (1910), 86–89.

[15] L'Abbe M. Demimuid, *Jean de Salisbury* (Paris, 1873), pp. 165 f. "Quelques auteurs lui ont fait une réputation d'helléniste, qui paraît peu méritée." See also below.

may be seen from a letter written to Jean Sarrazin in 1166:[16]

> Interim quod possum dignationis vestrae genibus provolutus, precibus et litteris pulso supplicans, ut in explananda translatione beati Dionysii me vestra sinceritas dignetur audire. Ad hoc nuper in libro beati Ambrosii de Incarnatione Verbi obstaculum reperi, quod nullus magistrorum nostrorum sufficit amovere, quia Graecae linguae expertes sunt.

He does use many Greek words, such as *στίχος*, *ἀφωνίας*, *αρετὴ*, *φρονήσεω*, *μεθοδὸν*; he generally explains them correctly, but not always. For example he derives *analytica* from *ἀνὰ* and *λέξις*.[17] His quotations from the Greek are mostly at second hand. In the *Metalogicus* he refers to Boethius as often as to Aristotle and uses Boethius' explanations of many terms of grammar and logic.[18] There is no reason to think, however, that he was trying to give the impression of knowing more Greek than he did. On the contrary, he is usually quite frank in mentioning the sources of his information: "Illa verba sensuum principaliter; sed haec examinat sensus verborum; nam *λεκτόν*, Graeco eloquio, sicut ait Isidorus, *dictum* appellatur. Sive autem dictur a Graeco *λέξις*, quod *locutio* interpretatur, sicut Quintiliano in praeexercitaminibus placet, sive a *λεκτόν*, quod *dictum* nuncupatur non multum refert . . ."[19] Of the quotations which John of Salisbury uses, the majority are from Latin writers, the most frequently cited being Virgil. A few passages occur which are from the late Greek Fathers, but these were also available in Latin. We cannot conclude that John had or knew the authors he quoted. If he had quoted at length from, or shown extensive familiarity with, Greek writers, or if he had

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[16] John of Salisbury, *Opera* (Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX), Ep. 169. The fact that John of Salisbury had to turn to Jean Sarrazin as an authority, throws light upon the general state of ignorance of Greek among the scholars around him. Jean Sarrazin was himself a poor Greek scholar who lamented his inability to render phrases introduced by the article. In his translations he attempted to imitate Greek compounds by running words together. Cp. Epp. 149, 230.

[17] *Metalogicus*, IV, 2. Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 916–917.

[18] Jourdain, *op. cit.*, pp. 254 f.

[19] *Metalogicus*, II, 4. Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 860. For an excellent treatment of John's sources and his independent knowledge of the classics, see A. C. Krey, "John of Salisbury's Knowledge of the Classics," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Pt. II (1910), 948–987.

had access to the works quoted, or definitely stated that he had read a given Greek work, we should attach greater significance to his references to Greek writers. But our whole impression is that of a man whose knowledge of Greek was of a very elementary kind.[20]

Although John of Salisbury knew little of the Greek language himself, he may be called a champion of humanism. He was the best read man of his century in the Latin classics available,[21] and was thoroughly interested in the Greek. Though he was supposedly opposed to Plato's teaching (he knew only the incomplete translation of the *Timaeus* by Chalcidius and a few well-known passages from the *Republic*), he felt that he was a great philosopher, and said that it seemed as if the sun vanished from the heavens on the day that Plato died, so great a man was he.[22] With Aristotle he was better acquainted. Having studied the *Organon* with a Greek interpreter,[23] he was able to turn the whole of this work to account for the first time.[24] He also wrote an interesting chapter on Aristotle in the *Polycraticus*,[25] the work which has been called the encyclopedia of the cultivated thought of the middle of the twelfth century.[26] While John of Salisbury used the translations of Boethius heavily in his treatment of Aristotle, he also had access to more recent versions in his time.[27] In his estimate of the greatness of Aris-

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[20] Schaarschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 11. "So finden sich auch in Johann's Schriften allerhand Griechische Worte angeführt und selbst erklärt, aber der allergrösste Theil derselben ist wieder aus lateinischen Quellen geflossen, und was die Etymologien unseres Saresberiensi anbetrifft, so sind sie es grade, welch uns gegen seine Griechische Gelehrsamkeit am meisten mistrauisch machen." Again the same writer says of John, "Nirgends finden wir bei ihm ein Citat aus einen Griechischen auctor welches ihm nicht durch die römische Zunge vermittelt gewesen wäre." Cp. also p. 113.

[21] William Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History and Kindred Subjects* (Oxford, 1886), p. 153.

[22] *Polycraticus*, VII, 6. "Sol e coelo visus est cecidesse, qua die philosophorum princeps Plato rebus excessit humanis. . ."

[23] *Metalogicus*, I, 15. Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 843. "Cum super hoc articulo multos conferentes, et varia sentientes audierim, non pigebit referre, nec forte audire displicebit, quod a Graeco interprete, et qui Latinam linguam commode noverat, dum in Apulia morarer, accepi; . . ."

[24] Sandys, I, 539.

[25] *Polycraticus*, VII, 6. Cp. C. Schaarschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[26] Reginald L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought in the Departments of Theology and Ecclesiastical Politics* (London, 1884 2nd ed., 1920), p. 208.

[27] *Metalogicus*, II, 20; Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 877; Epistle 211.

totle he was moderate. Though he recognized the importance of the great philosopher, he saw that he was not infallible. There is sanity in the following remark: "Nec tamen Aristotelem ubique plane aut sensisse, aut dixisse protestor, ut sacrosanctum sit, quidquid scripsit. Nam, in pluribus, obtinente ratione et auctoritate fidei, convincitur errasse: siquidem non modo studiosum quemlibet, sed et Deum ipsum parva posse committere asserit."[28]

It is in the spirit of humanism that pervades his writings that John of Salisbury stands out as a distinctive figure in his century. He is an advocate of liberal culture, without being an extremist at a time when practical studies were attracting a constantly increasing following. He is not in sympathy with the overemphasis upon logic at the expense of grammar and a scholarly knowledge of the literature of the ancients. Logic should be studied not as an end in itself but as a means to an end in association with the other arts.[29] Thus he says: "Quia sicut dialectica alias expedit disciplinas, sic, si sola fuerit, jacet exsanguis et sterilis,"[30] and again: "Tunc denum eminet, cum adjunctarum, virtute splendescit."[31] As a result of his attitude, he was attacked by some of the more narrow-minded of his opponents, particularly by a man whom he calls Cornificius.[32] The answer to these attacks is found in his four books of the *Metalogicus*, where he praises the literary instruction which the Cornificiani despised, and gives the system of the school of Chartres as worthy of imitation. The opening passages of the *Polycraticus*[33] are in the true spirit of humanism. He writes: "Plane, Porphyriolum ineptum credo si ita scripsit, ut sensus ejus intelligi nequeat, nisi Aristotele, Platone, et Plotino perlectis."[34] He complains that the classics are being neglected: "Cum itaque tam evidens sit utilitas topicorum, miror quare cum allis a majoribus tandiu intermissus sit Aristotelis liber, ut omnino, aut

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[28] *Metalogicus*, IV, 27; Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 932.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 9; IV, 27; Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 866, 932.
[30] *Ibid.*, II, 10; Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 869.
[31] *Ibid.*, IV, 28; Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 932.
[32] Carl Von Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande* (4v., Leipzig, 1855, 1870), II, (2nd ed. 1885), 232–234. Prantl has identified Cornificius as Reginaldus.
[33] See *Polycraticus*, Prologus and I, 1.
[34] *Ibid.*, VII, 12.

fere in desuetudinem abierit."[35] But the humanism of John of Salisbury is attested not only by precept but by example. His own works abound in quotations which show his wide reading of classic writers, and especially Virgil. And he advocates the study of languages: "Utantur linguis, tu viribus utere mentis, Sic sapis: alinguis gloria magna venit."[36] One has the feeling that if John of Salisbury had lived in the fifteenth century instead of the twelfth, he would have been among the leaders in the study of Greek, but it is apparent that the intellectual tendencies of the twelfth century did not impel even a man of his scholarly range and zeal to a close study of the language.

When we leave John of Salisbury there is not a great deal more to be said for Greek in England in the twelfth century. Daniel Morley (sometimes Morlai or Merlac, fl. 1170–1190) knew some Greek and brought books to England, including manuscripts of Aristotle and commentaries upon Aristotle which he had collected at Toledo.[37] Unfortunately little is known of him. He was an Englishman from Morley, near Norwich, who, in the late years of the century, was studying at Paris, but was not satisfied with the teaching there. He went to Toledo, then the center of Mohammedan learning. He was apparently invited to return to England, but hesitated to come because he felt that in England the study of law had taken the place of an interest in Aristotle and Plato, and that he would be the only Greek among the Romans.[38] His attitude gives us a sidelight on the low state of Greek study in the island at the close of the century. Nevertheless, he did return to England with his manuscripts,

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[35] *Metalogicus*, III, 5; Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 902.

[36] *Polycraticus* (Entheticus to *Polycraticus*), Migne, *P. L.*, CXCIX, 383.

[37] Savage, *Old English Libraries*, p. 218.

[38] See the preface to *De Naturis Inferiorum et Superiorum* (Arundel Ms. 337 f). "Vocatus vero tandem ab amicis et invitatus ut ab Hyspania redirem, cum pretiosa multitudine librorum in Angliam veni; cumque nuntiatum esset mihi quod in partibus illis disciplinae liberales silentium haberent, et pro Ticio et Seio penitus Aristoteles et Plato oblivioni darentur, vehementer indolui, et tamen ne ego solus inter Romanos Graecus remanerem, ubi hujusmodi studium florere didiceram iter arripui, sed in ipso itinere obviam habui dominum meum ac patrem spiritualem Johannem Noruvicensem episcopum, qui me honorifice, ut eum decebat, recipiens, valde meo congratulabatur adventui." This part of Daniel's preface is quoted in Thomas Wright, II, 228. Cp. also Prof. Holland, "The University of Oxford in the Twelfth Century," in the Oxford Hist. Soc., XVI (1890) *Collectanea*, II, 146, 172.

and was welcomed by John of Oxford, Bishop of Norwich. The latter, however, was chiefly interested in astronomy. The date of Morley's return is not known, nor is there any evidence of what part he played in the spread of Greek after his arrival. His only extant work concerns the ideas of the Arabs about the earth and the heavens.[39] Aside from Daniel Morley, the appearance of a few Greek words in the vocabularies or titles of John of York,[40] John of Hauteville,[41] Adelard of Bath,[42] and Giraldus Cambrensis,[43] seems to show that some smattering of

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[39] Cp. Sandys, I, 565.

[40] We have only the statement of Leland that John Belmeys (Ioannes Eboracensis) knew Greek. See Andrew Kippis, *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1778), II, 153. Here in a note Kippis quotes Leland: "I am deceived if Joannes Severianus, an Englishman to whom he was well known, did not mean him in the following passage of the 8th chapter of the 7th Book of his Polycratica: 'a man of singular eloquence, and who excells all that I have seen in the knowledge of the three Tongues (i.e. Greek, Latin, and Hebrew). The man I mean is John, Treasurer of York.'" Cp. *D. N. B.*, *sub* Belmeis, who was treasurer of York at this time.

[41] John of Hauteville (fl. 1184) was a Frenchman who spent a great part of his time in England. His chief work was the *Archithrenus*. The title is made up of Greek words, and the book closes with lines in praise of Paris which mention Greek, but otherwise the work is not impressive. The *Archithrenus* has been edited by Thomas Wright (Rolls Series). For comments on this work see also *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XIV, 571 f., and Alexander Budinszky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter*, (Berlin, 1876), p. 4.

[42] Adelard of Bath, though an Englishman, had very little influence upon the island as far as Greek is concerned. About 1130 he visited Spain, Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt. It is probable that before 1116 he had visited Magna Graecia. His interest in Greek showed itself in various ways. Prof. Haskins has quoted a curious passage set among some of his astronomical notes which has scattered Greek words in it. See C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 31–32. There is also Adelard's record of his travels and experiences near Salerno, where he says that he listened to a Greek philosopher discoursing upon "medicine and the nature of things." The passage is quoted by Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 79. See also the quotation from the unedited *De eodem et diverso* in Rashdall, *ibid.*, I, 80, note 1.

[43] Giraldus Cambrensis shows very little knowledge of Greek, even of words, in his writings. In his history of Henry II's expedition into Ireland, however, Giraldus assigns Greek patronyms to the Irish chiefs. (Cp. his works in the Rolls Series (edited Brewer, 8v., London, 1861–1891), V, 207 f.

Greek words was not uncommon to men of general learning at the time.[44]

[44] The singing of a Greek hymn by merchant sailors from the continent at this time had no greater significance than to show that the custom of singing Greek hymns still continued in certain churches. It is no evidence of a knowledge of the language. See Martin Weinbaum, "Zur Stellung der Fremden im mittelalterlichen England," in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XLVI (Berlin, 1931), 365. "Es heiszt da: Wenn die 'Lothinger' mit dem ersten Wein nach London kommen, fährt ihr erstes Shiff mit einem gehiszten Zeichen und, indem die Mannschaft das Kyrieleis singt, bis zur Londoner Brücke, von dort noch etwas themseaufwärts, und legt dann erst an."

V

The Thirteenth Century

The thirteenth century witnessed an important shift of interest in medieval learning. Grammar and the study of the classics were losing ground to law, medicine, natural science, and logic.[1] Such a situation was a natural result of recent developments. The rapid spread of knowledge of the works of Aristotle stimulated the study of natural science and logic. Roger Bacon represents in a striking way the former, the University of Paris the latter. Specialization was inevitable. At Salerno interest centered in medicine and at Bologna, with its concern over the relations of the Empire and the Papacy, there arose a corresponding preoccupation with the law. That these interests had a practical value not readily perceived in the humanities is a consideration that cannot be disregarded. Such a consideration was part of the spirit of the age. Grammar and rhetoric, while not without their champions, were faced with a new and powerful competition, and even rhetoric was given a practical turn and developed along more utilitarian lines into the *ars dictaminis*, practical letter-writing. The situation is well represented in a thirteenth century poem, *The Battle of the Seven Arts*, of Henri d'Andeli. The battle described in this work was a struggle for supremacy between Grammar, whose stronghold was Orléans, and Logic, which reigned at Paris. Grammar was defeated and as a result the Muse went into hiding. The hope that the lapse of interest would last only a short time failed the supporters of Grammar, and in the fourteenth century even Orléans had dropped its old love. Such interest in grammar as survived in the thirteenth century was not in the old grammars of Priscian and Donatus, but rather in two later works, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu (1199), and the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune (1212), the two nephews of Priscian,

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[1] See L. J. Paetow, *The Battle of the Seven Arts*, Introd., Chap. 2. (*Memoirs of the University of California*, Vol. 4, No. I, 1914).

as Henri d'Andeli calls them. The popularity of the former, an attempt to improve upon Priscian, may be estimated from the fact that more than five hundred copies have been traced.[2] The *Graecismus* was also widely used. It is of importance to us because of the Greek etymologies and Greek words and constructions which it contained. Though these later works had largely superseded the older works on grammar, Priscian is still mentioned in the records of Paris at scattered intervals in the thirteenth century.[3]

The great champion of grammar at the beginning of the century was John of Garland (fl. 1204–1252). He was an Englishman by birth, although he spent most of his life in France.[4] Having studied at Oxford and Paris (1204), he went to Toulouse (1218) where he played a part in founding the university in 1229. He seems to have been one of the most prolific of writers, thirty-one of his works having been identified.[5] In one of his works he lists what a student should read on almost all of the subjects of medieval learning.[6] Teaching at Paris and arguing for a study of the classics, he has been called the last humanist at Paris in this century.[7] In 1234 he wrote in praise of the classics:

> Parisius superis gaudens tamquam paradisus
> Philosophos alit egregios, ubi quicquid Athenae.
> Quicquid Aristoteles, quicquid Plato vel Galienus
> Ediderant, legitur; ubi pascit pagina sacra
> Subtiles animas celesti pane refectas.[8]

Again in 1240 he argued for the classics, suggesting that a law should be passed to establish the study of the ancients:

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[2] L. J. Paetow, *The Arts Course at Mediaeval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric*, p. 38.

[3] Denifle and Chatelain, *op. cit.*, I, 78; I, 138; I, 228; I, 278; II, 678.

[4] John of Garland, *De Triumphis Ecclesiae* (ed. Thomas Wright, Roxburghe Club, 1856), p. 59. "Anglia cui mater fuerat, cui Gallia nutrix, Matri nutricem praefero Marte meam." Quoted by Sandys, I, 549, n. 6.

[5] See Hauréau in *Notices et Extraits*, XXVII, 2 (1879), 1–86, cited by Sandys, I, 550, n. 10.

[6] *Ars Rhythmica*, ed. G. Mari, *I Trattati Medievali di Rithmica Latina* (Milan, 1899), Pt. I, cited by Sandys, I, 550.

[7] L. J. Paetow, *The Arts Course at Mediaeval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric*, p. 17.

[8] *Ars lectoria ecclesiae* (Accentarius) Bruges Ms., 546 fol. 77 (1234), quoted by Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Hic emendetur error dum tempis habetur
Lex talis detur id quod cecidit revocetur.[9]

John of Garland's own works on grammar included the *Clavis Compendii*, *Compendium Grammatice*, and the *Accentarius*, which, he says, were all written because of the ignorance of the classics. He warned against the use of the *Doctrinale* and the *Graecismus*, saying that the latter was incorrect and turgid. The efforts of John of Garland failed, however, in their aim. The study of grammar waned at Paris, and after a fitful existence in the south of France, died there too.[10]

The influence of Garland in England was slight. There is no doubt, however, that his championship of the classics and the cause of grammar had some effect upon the grammatical works of Roger Bacon. The latter heard John of Garland lecture when he was at Paris,[11] and when Bacon began his own studies in grammar he showed the newer spirit of grammatical study as a means to an end which John of Garland had so strongly stressed.

As we turn to the groups of Greek scholars in England in the thirteenth century, a word must be said about the bearing of two movements—the rise of universities and the arrival of the mendicant orders—on the study of Greek. The former movement apparently had little effect upon Greek study in the thirteenth century. The statutes of Oxford and Cambridge[12] are silent as to the study of Greek until the fifteenth century. We know that in the universities certain works of Aristotle were read in the translation of Boethius in the second quarter of the century,[13] and that some interpretations of Aristotle

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[9] *Ibid.*, Bruges Ms., 546 fol. 83, quoted by Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 27.

[10] For the classical learning at Paris during this period see the *Sacerdos ad altare Accessurus*, and C. H. Haskins' comments on this work in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (1909), 75–94.

[11] Roger Bacon, *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, pp. 453–454.

[12] *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (3v., Oxford, 1853); *Statutes of the Colleges of Cambridge* (3v., London, 1852).

[13] Hastings Rashdall, "Medieval Universities," *Camb. Med. Hist.*, VI, 570. Cp. Charles E. Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford* (London, 1924), I, 180 ff.

were made and accepted forty or fifty years later.[14] In a general way there was some stimulation of interest in scholarship, and if we may use the analogy of Paris, some increase in the copying of manuscripts for texts may have taken place, by the licensing and controlling of the productions of this sort in the universities.[15] The study of Greek, however, did not appear in the courses of study in the English schools and universities in the thirteenth century.

Nor did the arrival of the mendicant orders at this time account for any great increase in Greek learning.[16] It is true, as we shall see, that the outstanding Greek scholars of the century were members of one of the orders, but it must be recognized that some of these were interested in Greek before they became associated with the orders. Of the two larger orders the Dominicans came to England first (1221). From the start this group was interested in intellectual things and was noted for organization.[17] At first the interest was chiefly in the study of theology and it was necessary for members to get special permission to study science or the liberal arts. Gradually more freedom came, but a clearly defined system was followed, and not everyone could get the higher education. In every house there were lectures in theology which all the friars attended. The best students were selected and sent to a special school or *studium artium* which served several convents. Here the picked scholars studied logic for two years. Again the more apt and promising were selected to be sent to another school called a *studium naturalium*, where the course of study lasted three years. At this school the works of Aristotle on natural philosophy and ethics were read. The next step was the *studium theologiae*. The

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[14] John Ayliffe, *The Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford* (2v., Oxford, 1714), I, 75.

[15] See Sandys, I, 628 and the references he gives.

[16] For the treatment of the coming of the friars, see H. Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904); A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917); A. G. Little's *A Guide to Franciscan Studies* (London, 1920) and his chapter in *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI; William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1849), VI, Pt. III, 1524 ff.; Charles E. Mallet, *op. cit.*, Chap. II; J. S. Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana* (London, 1858); Andrew Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford*, II, 311–342; and *Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, II, 107 ff.

[17] A. G. Little, "The Mendicant Orders," *Camb. Med. Hist.*, VI, 739, 741.

students were by this time so carefully picked that this school might draw either from one province or from the order at large. The *studium generale* was for students who had had the preparatory training over a period of years as indicated.[18]

It seems only natural that the mendicants should become interested in the new learning. Since from almost the beginning of the movement an important function was the tending of the sick, an interest developed in medicine and experimental science along with the usual love of systematic theology.[19] These subjects in turn gradually led the mendicants to a desire for understanding languages. It is strange, however, that the Dominicans, who were notably intellectual, and who could boast of such scholars as Robert Bacon, Richard Fishacre, and Robert Kilwardby among their members, showed little interest in Greek.[20] The Franciscans, on the other hand, who came to England in 1224, although in the earlier periods of their history laying emphasis on other things than learning, produced the greatest Greek scholars of the thirteenth century. There was little provision made for the study of Greek in the Franciscan organization of education,[21] but perhaps, with less uniformity in their organization, greater freedom was allowed in the centers of this order.[22]

The Franciscans had not been long in England before their school at Oxford became prominent. Under Grosseteste and his followers it developed into a center of remarkably independent inquiry with emphasis on the experimental method and keen interest in the study of mathematics, physics, and languages.[23] As a result of this attitude considerable impetus was given to the study of Greek. It was felt that in order to understand the Scriptures and Aristotle an understanding of Greek and Hebrew was

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 742.
[19] Mallet, *op. cit.*, I, 59–60.
[20] The interest in Greek learning among the Dominicans showed itself only in a commentary now and again on the works of Aristotle.
[21] Célestin Douais, *Essai sur L'Organisation des Études dans L'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs au Treizième et au Quatorzième Siècle.* (Paris and Toulouse, 1884). See pp. 135–137, especially, for the treatment of languages as studies.
[22] Little, *op. cit.*, VI, 746.
[23] *Ibid.*, VI, 744.

necessary,[24] and the tradition begun by Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, and Roger Bacon continued into the fourteenth century.[25] Then it expired.[26] And although these men were Franciscans their interest in Greek seems to have been more a matter of individual initiative than the result of any policy or movement within the order. As groups neither the Dominicans nor the Franciscans manifested any enthusiasm for Greek learning as such. Indeed, at Oxford their quarrel with the University over the requirements of the general course indicates rather an indifference to liberal studies. The University insisted on the arts course as a foundation for higher studies; the friars, on the other hand, resisted this requirement as arbitrary and unnecessary.[27] Furthermore, that the study of Greek at Oxford was largely a matter of individual choice may be seen from the fact that at Cambridge, lacking in enthusiastic champions of the language, there is no evidence of such classical learning. The names of Franciscans loom large in the history of Greek scholarship in this century; but if one group of Greek students to be discussed is quite properly called the Oxford Franciscans, this name does not imply that Greek was taught in the curriculum of Oxford schools or that it was cherished by the Franciscan body. It merely means that certain men were Greek enthusiasts, that at one time or another they were associated with Oxford, and that they happened sooner or later to become Franciscans.

Three men whose reputation as Greek students rests upon vague statements or upon the unsupported remarks of Pits may be quickly dismissed. The first of these was Joseph of Exeter, an Englishman, who died early in the century (1210). He is

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[24] *Ibid.*, VI, 745. Cp. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 265. "Während der nun folgenden Generation hat man in Oxford, vorzüglich bei den Franziskanern, fleiszig Griechisch getrieben."

[25] Paul Sabatier, *Franciscan Studies*, (Aberdeen, 1912), p. 75. Cp. A. G. Little, *op. cit.*, VI, 746 and H. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 301. "Der Einflusz, welchen der minoritische Lehrkörper auf dir Universität hatte, war ein groszartiger und segensreicher. Wir brauchen, um das einzusehen, nur den mächtigen Aufschwung in Betracht zu ziehen, den die Oxforder Hochschule während der ersten Hälfte des 13 Jahrhunderts genommen in Anschlusz an die Mendikanteninstitute."

[26] Little, *op. cit.*, p. 745.

[27] Mallet, *op. cit.*, I, 72 ff. Cp. Andrew Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford* (Oxford, 1890), II, 382, and note.

described as "vir omni bonarum litterarū lautiore supellectile instructissimus, Graece linguae peritissimus . . ."[28] The second was Nicholas Ferveham, who studied at Oxford and interested himself particularly in medicine and herbs. So much was he fascinated by these branches of learning "ut autem quod domi bene inceperat foris, optime perficeret, satis diu Parisiis, diutius tamen Bononiae in Italia Hippocratem, Dioscoridem, Galenum, aliosque celeberrimos totius orbis medicos pervoluit, . . ."[29] He died at Durham in 1241. But it is necessary to remember that the works he was interested in were available in translation, and he may have known no Greek. It would be interesting could we trace some relationship to the texts which are collected in Cockayne's *Leechdoms* but it has been impossible to find any. Gregory of Huntingdon was more significant as a Greek student. He wrote the *Ars Loquendi Linguam Graecam.* This is the work of which Pits speaks, hinting that he knew Greek fairly well and wrote about the "artem intelligendi Graece," a work (which has disappeared) including explanations of Greek names. Pits says of him: "Ex quibus libris tum Hebraeae linguae cognitionem accuratam hausit, tum etiam multa sacrae scripturae difficilia loca his adminiculis adiutus loculenter exposuit. Monimenta tamen doctrinae illius, quae edita reperimus, maxime Graecas litteras concernunt."[30] Such references as these are too incomplete and unreliable. Were these the only type of evidence to be found, we could rightly dismiss the question of Greek in England in the thirteenth century, and some writers have concluded that the century was unimportant in its study of the ancients.[31] There are several groups of students, however, who cannot be so easily dismissed. The first of these was made up of Englishmen who were associated with the schools of Spain. They helped to bring a

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[28] John Pits, *Relationum Historicarum de rebus Anglicis* (Paris, 1619), p. 275.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 312 f.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 333.

[31] Arnold H. L. Heeren, *Geschichte des Studiums der classischen Litteratur seit dem wiederaufleben der Wissenschaften* (2v., Göttingen, 1797–1801), I, 228 f. "Im ganzen genommen war indesz allerdings das dreizehnte Jahrhundert im Occident für die Erhaltung und für das Studium der Werke der alten Litteratur eins der unfruchbarsten."

knowledge of Greek writers to England through the medium of Arabic.

To this group belong Daniel Morley, Adelard of Bath, and Michael Scot. The first two of these men have been mentioned in the preceding chapter, as they straddled the turning point of the two centuries. Michael Scot was the most important of the three as an all-round scholar, though there is some doubt about his knowing Greek. He studied at Oxford but is generally associated with Bologna.[32] He studied also at Paris and as early as 1209 was probably at Palermo.[33] Most of his translations were from the Arabic, it is true, and there have been some who decided against his knowing any Greek. One of his contemporaries, Honorius III, when recommending Michael for ecclesiastical preferment in England, spoke of his proficiency in Arabic and Hebrew, saying nothing of Greek.[34] Roger Bacon, who was frequently severe in his estimate of other scholars, using the authority of Herman the German, says that Scot was ignorant of Greek and of all languages, and that he was helped in his work by a learned Jew named Andreas.[35] We know that Bacon was wrong about his languages, for the translations of Aristotle's works out of Arabic, his other translations from the same language, and the fact that the Emperor Frederick gave him the command to translate some of Aristotle's works prove that he knew Arabic at least.[36] Had Bacon not been so hard upon Scot, the latter might have ranked with the best scholars of his

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[32] Sandys, I, 566. Cp. Brechillet Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des traductions Latines d'Aristote* (Paris, 1819), pp. 124 ff.

[33] Alexander Budinszky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1876), pp. 95–96. "Michael Mathematicus, auch Scotus genannt, obwohl er ein Engländer war, gegen 1190 geboren, studierte in Oxford und Paris und begab sich von hier nach dem Lande der astronomisch-astrologischen Studien, nach Spanien, wo er 1217 in Toledo das Buch des Alpetrongi 'De Sphaera' übersetzte. In der Folge wurde er an den Hof Kaiser Friedrich II berufen und dürfte um 1250 gestorben sein, obwohl manche Biographen sein Leben bis 1290 verlängern. Sein Hauptnerdienst sind die Uebersetzungen aristotelischen Schriften nach arabischen Bearbeitungen; populare ist er durch den Ruf der Zauberei geworden, der ihm noch lange nach seinen Tode anhaftete und dem er auch sein Erscheinen in Dante's Inferno (xx, 115) verdankt."

[34] Denifle and Chatelain, I., 105.

[35] *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, p. 472.

[36] For the translations of Scot see the list in Sandys, I, 566–567.

day.[37] As Frederick wanted translations from the Greek as well as from the Arabic, it is not unlikely that Scot knew some Greek also. At all events, his labors with Aristotle stimulated an interest in the originals.

The most clearly defined center of Greek interest before Selling's efforts to found a school of Greek at Canterbury in the late fifteenth century,[38] now appears in the thirteenth century at Lincoln. The importance of this center may be gathered from a glance at the names of some of the men who were associated with it.[39] William Shirwood,[40] Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, Adam Marsh, Nicholas the Greek, and John of Basingstoke, aside from any interest in Greek, were among the most important men of learning of the century. The man who was responsible for the development of Greek at Lincoln, and who had the greatest influence in inspiring a love of Greek in his pupils, was Robert Grosseteste. His efforts alone account for much of the Greek in England in the thirteenth century.

Robert Grosseteste (c. 1175–1253) was born at Stradbroke in Suffolk. Educated at Oxford and Paris, he early showed promise of the broad learning that was to make him eminent. The nature of his education was summed up by Giraldus Cambrensis when he said that Robert built on the foundation of the liberal arts and on an abundant knowledge of literature.[41]

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[37] Heeren, *op. cit.*, I, 246. Heeren throws the weight of his authority on the side of Scot, intimating that he knew Greek. "Auch er war nicht blosz mit der Lateinischen sondern auch mit der Griechischen Sprache bekannt; er, wurde von Frederick II an seiner Hof gezogen, und hatte hier Gelegenheit durch Uebersetzung der physischen Werke des Aristotles seine Kenntnisse geltend zu machen."

[38] See below, pp. 113 ff.

[39] Hauréau, Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique, II, Pt. I, p. 182, says, "L'église de Lincoln paraît avoir été, du temps de Robert, un vrai centre d'études."

[40] William of Shirwood may be dismissed with a word. Bacon had great respect for his scholarship, but does not refer specifically to Greek. See Hauréau, *ibid.*, pp. 182–183. "Le chancelier de cette église, Guillaume Schirwood, était, comme son évêque, un grande savant. Né dans le ville de Durham, Guillaume Schirwood avait achevé ses études à Paris." Cp. Alexander Budinszky, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[41] *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (ed. Brewer, London, 1861), I, 249.

Robert's character and learning marked him for promotion. He became one of the first chancellors of Oxford, and soon after the coming of the Franciscans to Oxford in 1224, he was appointed as lecturer to them there.[42] When he became Bishop of Lincoln, he gathered a group of men about him which included some of the best scholars in the England in his day. Of this group he was the acknowledged leader and the most active scholar. He invited scholars to Lincoln, at times placing them in his own household, and sent others to foreign lands to get manuscripts to bring to England. He began to prepare himself for translating the works of the ancients, at the same time encouraging translation on the part of others. As the central figure in the Lincoln group, he inspired his associates to such an extent that their influence spread to other parts of the island and lasted for several generations after him.

The importance of Grosseteste as a scholar in the thirteenth century can hardly be overestimated. He prepared commentaries upon the *Categories*, *Analytics*, and *Sophistici Elenchi* of Aristotle, probably while at Oxford. He was acquainted with the translation of the *Posterior Analytics* by Boethius and the newer versions as well. He summarized and commented upon the *Physics*. Through his efforts translations were made of Dionysius the Areopagite and John of Damascus, and of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The latter was executed by Nicholas of St. Albans in 1242, from a manuscript brought from Athens by John of Basingstoke. The popularity of this work may be seen in the fact that thirty-one Latin copies exist. One of them was copied for St. Albans by Matthew Paris. Grosseteste has also been credited with owning copies of the Greek *Romance of Asenath*, the Egyptian wife of Joseph; a Lexicon of Suidas; and the Epistles of Ignatius. Grosseteste's *Compendium Scientiarum* was an attempt to classify all the departments of knowledge then known. After 1244 quotations appear in his work from the *Nichomachean Ethics*[43] although up to this date he seems to have known only the *Eudemian Ethics*.[44] Grosseteste had a

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[43] *Monumenta Franciscana* (ed. Brewer and Howlett, 2v., London, 1858, 1882), I, 37.
[43] Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (ed. Luard), No. 106.
[44] *Ibid.*, Nos. 94, 101.

copy of the *Ethics* (possibly in Latin) for he was asked for a loan of it by a Franciscan in 1251.[45] It also seems certain that he translated the *Ethics* from the Greek.[46] As an interpreter of the thought of the ancients, moreover, it is to be remarked that he was not so literal as his associates though he could be sufficiently exact when he wished.[47] When we remember Grosseteste's activities as a statesman and reformer, his achievements as a scholar appear truly remarkable.

The praise which Grosseteste won as a man of learning is often expressed in extravagant terms. Nevertheless, when we consider the number and caliber of the men who paid him tribute, and reflect on the facts already presented, it will be seen that by and large he merited the praise. Roger Bacon, contrary to his usual grudging applause of scholars, lauds Grosseteste highly: "Few have attained to consummate wisdom in the perfection of philosophy: Solomon attained to it, and Aristotle in relation to his times, and in a later age Avicenna, and in our own days the recently deceased Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, and Adam Marsh."[48] Wycliffe ranked him with Democritus, Plato, and Augustine, and placed him above Aristotle.[49] The opinion of modern scholars is equally high. Dr. Luard, the editor of his letters, felt that no one had a greater influence upon English thought and literature for two centuries after his death than Grosseteste.[50] In his history of classical scholarship, Dr. Sandys says of him, "He also deserves to be remembered as one of the earliest leaders of thought at Oxford, as a promoter of Greek learning, and as an interpreter of Aristotle, who went far beyond his master in the experimental knowledge of physical science."[51]

As a Greek student Grosseteste is the most important figure in England in the thirteenth century. Before he knew much Greek himself, he encouraged the study of Greek and arranged for the translation of Greek works. Then he set to work to learn the language himself as a preparation for translating.

[45] See Adam Marsh's letter in *Monumenta Franciscana*, I, 114.
[46] See below, p. 75.
[47] See below, p. 74.
[48] Cp. *Opus Tertium*, p. 70.
[49] Cp. F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste* (London, 1899), p. 335.
[50] *Epistolae* (ed., Luard), Introd.
[51] Sandys, I, 578.

Matthew Paris, a contemporary writing at St. Albans, describes him as "vir in Latino et Graeco peritissimus."[52] Paris comments upon his work as a translator,[53] and reports that on his deathbed he discussed the meaning of the word heresy, explaining the word from the Greek.[54] Bacon says that Grosseteste had not the ability in Greek to translate without assistance until late in life,[55] and complains that he entirely neglected the works of Aristotle. The latter statement at least is not supportable.[56] Having acquired early an interest in Greek, Grosseteste associated with men who could teach him the language. There had been a few "veri Graeci" in England before Grosseteste's day,[57] and Bacon, we recall, said that Robert was responsible for the presence of others. Nicholas the Greek, who had been at St. Albans, was made a member of Grosseteste's household, and John of Basingstoke collected Greek works in Athens for him.[58] It is possible that Grosseteste learned Greek first from Nicholas. At least we know that in 1238, while he was taking a rest, he was reading and translating Greek for pleasure.[59] The years 1239–1244 were productive ones; it was during this period that Robert was responsible for the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, perhaps the version of the *Romance of Asenath*, the Lexicon of Suidas, the Epistles of Ignatius, and an improved rendering of Dionysius the Areopagite.[60] Nor was Bacon justified in denying Robert an interest in Aristotle. Enough has already been said to show that, though he may not have done all the work on Aristotle which is attributed to him, he was responsible

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[52] *Historia Anglorum* (ed. F. Madden, London, 1866), II, 467.

[53] *Ibid.*, II, 467. "Diebus etiam sub eisdem episcopus Lincolniensis Robertus, vir in Latino et Graeco peritissimus, Testamenta XII Patriarcharum de Graeco fideli interpretatione transtulit in Latinum, quae per invidiam Judaeorum diu fuerunt occultata."

[54] *Ibid.*, III., 145. "Interrogans insuper eundem fratrem, 'Quid esset Haeresis?' et ille haesitasset, autenticam non recolens diffinitionem, dixit episcopus, 'Haeresis est sententia humano sensu electa, Scripturae Sacrae contraria, palam edocta, pertinaciter defensa. Haersis enim Graece, electio Latine.'"

[55] *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, p. 472.

[56] See above, pp. 72 f.

[57] *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, p. 434.

[58] Cp. S. A. Hirsch, *Roger Bacon Essays* (ed. A. G. Little, Oxford, 1914), p. 101.

[59] Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (ed. Luard), no. 57.

[60] Cp. M. R. James, "The Christian Renaissance," *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, I, 586.

for many new versions of Aristotle's works. Furthermore, Herman the German, who made a rendering of the *Ethics* in 1240, in his preface to his work on the *Rhetoric* in 1256, states that his own work on the *Ethics* was useless because Grosseteste's translation of the *Ethics* was done from the original Greek.[61]

Although the list of Grosseteste's works is impressive, he is to be hailed even more than for his own accomplishments in Greek for his importance in encouraging others to interest themselves in the language. He did everything in his power to promote its study. By inviting Greeks to England, by collecting Greek works and sending directly to Greece for manuscripts, by encouraging translations from the Greek before he could translate himself, and then by setting to work to learn the language he so inspired his associates that they carried on his crusade. Nor was the influence of Grosseteste limited to Lincoln and the group there. Grosseteste was a Franciscan, and we shall have occasion to refer to him again when we come to another group of men interested in Greek, which has been called the Franciscan group. Especially for Grosseteste's pupil, Bacon, the debt to the master must be emphasized. Also we must note Grosseteste's connection with the group at St. Albans, through Nicholas the Greek and Matthew Paris. This group will also be discussed hereafter. For the present, as we leave Grosseteste, it should be pointed out that he stands as a central figure for all the groups, and that he was the personality behind whatever Greek study existed in England in the thirteenth century.

John of Basingstoke may be included in a discussion of the Lincoln group because of his relations with Grosseteste while the latter was at Lincoln.[62] He was born in Hampshire (the date is not known) and studied at Oxford and Paris. It is entirely possible that he met Grosseteste while both were at Oxford. About 1240 John went to Greece, where, he reports, he learned Greek, having as his teacher a girl named Constantina, the

[61] Quoted by Jourdain, *op. cit.*, p. 140. "reverendus pater magister Robertus, Grossi Capitis, sed subtilis intellectus, Linkolniensis episcopus, ex primo fonte unde emanaverat, Graeco videlicet, ipsum est completius interpretatus, et Graecorum commentis praecipuas annexans notulas commentatus."

[62] Other famous men, Nicholas the Greek, Adam Marsh, and Roger Bacon, were associated with Grosseteste but will be discussed under other groups of Greek students.

daughter of the Archbishop of Athens.[63] While in Greece John of Basingstoke collected manuscripts, bringing some of them to England and reporting to Grosseteste at Lincoln other things which he saw on his trip and which were not known to the Latins. After Basingstoke returned to England, Grosseteste promoted him to the Archdeaconry of Leicester. John was a translator as well as a collector. Matthew Paris, who describes him as a man of great experience in the trivium and quadrivium and well acquainted with Greek and Latin literature,[64] says that he translated a grammar into Latin and brought to England a knowledge of Greek numeral letters.[65] The famous historian seems to have been thrilled by these letters. He adds, "De quibus figuris hoc maxime admirandum, quod unica figura quilibet numerus repraesentur, quod non est in Latino, vel Algorismo."[66] Little is known of John's activity in Greek scholarship upon his return to England beyond these statements of Matthew Paris. The date of his death has been given as 1252.[67]

For their interest in the study of Greek, an almost equally important group in England was the Oxford Franciscan group. Shortly after the appearance of the Orders in England the great scholars were usually attached to one or the other of them. Among the Franciscans we find such names as Alexander of Hales, Edmund Rich, Robert Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham.[68] Not all of these, however, are of interest to us here. Alexander of Hales was at Paris, and whatever influence he had upon English

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[63] Constantina, supposedly under twenty years of age, must have been highly intellectual, if she deserved the praise which John of Basingstoke gave her, but it is unlikely that she was the daughter of the Archbishop of Athens. For the discussion of this question see Sandys, I, 423.

[64] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v, 284 f.

[65] For a most interesting discussion of these numerals and the expression of a belief in John's knowledge of the problems connected with them see W. W. Greg, "John of Basing's Greek Numerals," in *The Library*, 4th Series, IV, (1923–4), 52–58.

[66] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v, 285. Matthew made a copy of the numerals for St. Albans.

[67] Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry* (3v., London, 1840), I, CXXXIV, n. 2, and Sandys, I, 423.

[68] Upon this subject see Edward Hutton, *The Franciscans in England 1224–1538* (Boston and New York, 1926), and A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars at Oxford* (Oxford, 1892).

students in encouraging Greek was indirect.[69] Edmund Rich is only of slight importance for our study. Walter Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*,[70] suggests that Rich may have been responsible for the interest of this entire group in Greek. At least he had as pupils "the celebrated Grosseteste and Robert, some say Roger Bacon."[71] It would be a very important finding, could it be proved that Rich taught these men Greek, or aroused their interest in it, but in spite of diligent search nothing has been found to warrant the conclusion. That Rich was interested in Aristotle is only slightly better supported. It is possible that he was the first to lecture on the *Sophistici Elenchi* at Oxford.[72] If this was so, it is likely that he aroused in Grosseteste and others the desire to study the originals. There is, however, no real evidence that he knew Greek himself.

The first Franciscan to lecture at Oxford was Adam Marsh (d. 1258). He has sometimes been dismissed as a Greek student, and it must be admitted that his letters show little that would mark him as a classical scholar.[73] Adam Marsh, however, knew a little Greek and had a great interest in Aristotle.[74] In writing to his friend Grosseteste, he asked him to send a copy of Aristotle's *Ethics* to the Grey Friars' Convent in London.[75] Also in a letter to the Minister-General of the Friars Minor in England, he urged the necessity of investigating the original works of the Fathers in any treatment of the Scriptures. It seems reasonable to suppose that Adam would not expect of others what he himself could not do.[76] These facts, together with

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[69] For a brief account of Alexander of Hales, see Alexander Budinszky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1876), p. 77.

[70] Hook, *op. cit.*, III, 142. See p. 142. n. R., for the question of Robert or Roger.

[71] *Ibid.*, III, 142.

[72] Antony à Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* (ed. John Gutch, 2 v. in 3 Oxford, 1792-1796), I, 196.

[73] *Monumenta Franciscana*, I, 391.

[74] Roger Bacon, *Opera Inedita* 75, 472. Bacon says that Adam knew Hebrew, but not enough Greek to translate without aid. Nevertheless, he classes him with Grosseteste and the best scholars of the time. He calls him one of the "majores clerici de mundo et perfecti in sapientia divina et humana," p. 75. See also *Opus Tertium*, pp. 70, 83, 187.

[75] *Monumenta Franciscana*, I, 114.

[76] Cp. Francis A. Gasquet, "English Biblical Criticism in the Thirteenth Century," *The Dublin Review*, CXXII (1898), p. 6, and Samuel Pegge, *Life of Grosseteste*, p. 230.

Bacon's high praise of his general scholarship, are significant. We have seen Bacon's reluctance to praise scholars. He is willing, however, to place Adam Marsh with Solomon and Aristotle.[77] On the whole, he may have known considerable Greek even though the records do not establish the fact.

We may pause here to observe that Grosseteste, who has already been discussed, and whose chief association was with the school at Lincoln, was the central figure of the Greek students among the Oxford Franciscans as well, and was more than likely responsible (barring the slight possibility that Edmund Rich was the inspiring figure) for the tradition of Greek study among the English Franciscans which lasted through the century. The chief importance of Grosseteste in this connection lies in the fact that he was the teacher of Roger Bacon.[78] In both master and pupil we find a changed attitude toward the study of Greek. The students of earlier times had in the majority of cases been content to use a Greek word now and then, or to dabble with derivations and a little grammar. These men, however, wanted an understanding of the Greek originals of important works, and were interested in the scientific and literary aspects of the new learning.

After the death of Grosseteste in 1253, the greatest scholar in England was Roger Bacon (c. 1214–1294). He was born near Ilchester and received his education at Oxford and Paris. Among his teachers were Adam Marsh, Thomas Wallensis, and Robert Grosseteste. It was possibly through the influence of the latter that he became interested in the study of Greek. We suspect that the influence of Grosseteste upon Bacon was great, for it was probably through Grosseteste's efforts that Bacon became a Franciscan.[79] Bacon returned from his studies at Paris about 1250, but could not have stayed in England long. He was in Paris again when, having written upon the subjects of science and magic, he became an object of suspicion and was confined there for ten years (1257–1267).[80] It was at about this time (1267) that in a period of eighteen months Bacon

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[77] *Opus Tertium*, p. 70.
[78] See below.
[79] Cp. Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, no. 58.
[80] Sandys, I, p. 589.

wrote three of his important works, the *Opus Majus*, the *Opus Minus*, and the *Opus Tertium*. In 1271–1272 came the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*. After this Bacon seems to have been once more under the ban of the Franciscans, but he was at liberty again in 1278 and wrote his *Compendium Studii Theologiae* in 1292. He died at Oxford about 1294.

In scholarship Bacon's interests were widely scattered. In the *Opus Majus*, he outlined grammar, logic, mathematics, physics, experimental research, and moral philosophy. His earliest interest was scientific, and in this work he mentions what he considers the hindrances to the development of a true science. Bacon was also interested in grammar and while at Paris listened to John of Garland's lectures on the subject.[81] It is likely that Garland had some influence upon Bacon, for there is a noticeable similarity in their attitude toward this study. Bacon became one of the greatest critics of the Schoolmen of his day. He discussed the proper methods of approach to the study of Aristotle, and protested against the time wasted upon the metaphysical controversy on Universals.[82] Aside from these subjects he laid the foundations for textual criticism of the Scriptures.[83] It is as a champion of humanism, however, that he especially concerns us here.

In the history of Greek study in England Bacon is an outstanding figure. His love of Greek as distinguished from his knowledge of the language is best shown in the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*. In this work he urges the study of Greek as well as Hebrew, since the scholars of his day were the heirs of the scholars of the past.[84] He insists upon the use of originals, especially for the study of Aristotle. He hints that the problem of getting originals was easily to be solved, stating that he had seen the Greek text of fifty of the books of Aristotle on natural history.[85] Study of the original texts was indispensable. Waters drawn from the fountains, he says, are sweeter than those taken from turbid rivulets, and wine is purer and more wholesome when

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[81] *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, p. 453.
[82] *Opus Majus*, I, XLI f, 28, 42.
[83] *Opus Minus*, pp. 330 f. Cp. Émile Charles, *Roger Bacon* (Bordeaux, 1861), p. 263.
[84] *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, p. 435.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 473.

kept in the original cask than when poured from vessel to vessel. So, therefore, if the Latins wish to drink the pure and wholesome liquor of wisdom, they must turn their attention to the fount of the Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic languages.[86] In the same work Bacon further shows his interest in Greek when he gives a long list of Greek words with unusual accuracy.[87] He criticizes the etymologies of grammarians such as Papias, Brito, and Hugutio,[88] comments upon the discussions of John of Garland,[89] and lists frequent errors which occurred in spelling and derivations.[90] We have already mentioned the thirteen reasons which he gives for the study of Greek.[91] Toward the close of his work he gives the Greek alphabet, with the name and sound and numerical value of each letter,[92] following this with a classification of the letters, and ending with long discussions on accentuation and prosody.[93]

What Bacon says in the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae* leaves us in no doubt about his belief in the importance of Greek for the advancement of learning. One must learn Greek in order to avail himself of the fruits of Greek wisdom. But to a practical man like Bacon the question was, How? One must begin by providing adequate tools with which to acquire the language. Accordingly, he set to work to compile a Greek grammar, fortunately preserved in a beautifully written manuscript now at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. It is true that Greek grammars were already in existence in England when Bacon began to compose his. Grammars had been collected in Greece for Robert Grosseteste,[94] and we have seen that John of Basingstoke had brought one to England and had it translated into Latin.[95] Bacon's Greek grammar, however, was more scholarly, for he supplemented what he found in older works by knowledge got

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[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 465–466.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 441.
[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 447–452.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 453.
[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 454–462.
[91] *Ibid.*, pp. 464 f. See above, p. 12.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 495 f.
[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 508–519.
[94] *Opus Tertium*, p. 91.
[95] See above, p. 72.

from the Greeks of his own day. The Greek grammar has now been published, together with a fragment, supposed to be a part of the same work, found in the Cambridge Library.[96] In this work Bacon followed the Byzantine tradition[97] which was carried on later by Lascaris and Chrysoloras.[98] It is possible that he knew the work of Theodosius, but this cannot be proved. It is more likely that he had a Greek Catechism such as we find in the Wolfenbüttel *Eromemata*.[99] In addition to the Greek grammar and the fragment and the remarks on grammar which appear in his other works there is a Greek lexicon which has been identified as Bacon's compilation.[100] The provision of these tools for Greek students was Bacon's contribution to the cause of Greek study.

When we consider Bacon's avowed attitude toward Greek and the grammar which he compiled we should naturally expect him to put his convictions into practice. We should expect to find in his writings that familiarity with Greek works in the original that he so enthusiastically advocated. Yet it is just here that in examining Bacon's work we meet with the greatest contradiction. He shows no such first-hand acquaintance with Greek literature as we should expect. Such knowledge as he has seems to be derived entirely from Latin translations. His reference to Homer, "'Quod si cuiquam videatur linguae gratiam interpretatione non mutari, Homerum exprimat in Latinum ad verbum,"[101] does not mean that he had access to a text of

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[96] Edmond Nolan and S. A. Hirsch, *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon* (Cambridge, 1902).

[97] J. L. Heiberg, "Die Griechische Grammatik Roger Bacon," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, ed. Karl Krumbacher, IX (1900) 479-491. "Aber daneben hat Bacon ein byzentinisches Lehrbuch der Grammatik benutzt; das beweist die Uebereinstimmung seiner Grammatik mit den Lehrbüchern von Konst. Lascaris und Chrysoloras, die doch nur die byzantinische Schultradition weiter geben. Nicht nun hat Bacon das alte Paradigma *τύπτω* mit allen papiernen Formen und mit *ἐαν* vor dem Konjunctiv wie Lascaris und Chrysoloras, wenn auch nicht ganz in derselben Reihenfolge, und wie sie 13 Konjugationen, sondern auch in einzelnen, meist dieselben Beispiele, wie das setene *βῶξ* (das er übrigens falsch dekliniert); auch die grammatische Terminologie ist genau dieselbe." p. 490.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 490.

[99] Edmond Nolan and S. A. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, lxii. Cp. Sandys, I, 595.

[100] M. R. James, "The Christian Renaissance", *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, I, 587.

[101] *Opus Majus*, I, 67.

Homer. He apparently was quoting from Jerome.[102] Bacon mentions the *Phaedo* and the *Timaeus* of Plato, but here, as in the case of the versions of Aristotle, it was the Latin with which he was acquainted.[103] Indeed when we face the question of how much Greek Bacon actually knew, it must be admitted that there is surprisingly little evidence by which to judge, aside from the grammar. He does not show that he could really read Greek nor has he left any translations of Greek writers. This is the more remarkable since he hinted that plenty of Greek works were available. The situation seems to be that, although he was aware of the great importance of the literature of the Greeks, he was primarily a scientist, and based his speculations upon his own experiments rather than upon books. As a grammarian he deserves a high place among his contemporaries, but as far as the more literary aspects of Greek learning are concerned, he was satisfied to encourage others to carry on what he had begun. He followed the lead of John of Garland rather than of Grosseteste. In principle he recognized the necessity of a first-hand acquaintance with the learning of the ancients, and therefore began his work by simplifying for later students the problems of the Greek language.

Nevertheless, the importance of Bacon as a Greek scholar at this period is very great. He was one of the first men who encouraged the searching into Greek originals; he had at least a considerable theoretical knowledge of Greek himself; and in all his work we find a new attitude toward Greek—that of the critical student of the language. For many years it has been held that Bacon's urgings went unheeded. At first glance it seems as if even his grammar lay unused in obscurity. To offset this, attention should be called to the link between the Oxford Franciscans and the court of Robert of Naples. William of Almuck, who preceded the Baconian William Herbert as lecturer to the Friars at Oxford, afterwards taught at the University of Naples and was finally made a bishop by King Robert. Furthermore, Arnold de Villeneuve dedicated a work to Robert, the

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[102] *Opus Tertium*, p. 90; *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, p. 466. Cp. Sandys, I, p. 596.

[103] Cp. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 323 and Sandys, I, 596.

De conservatione juvenilis et retardatione senectutis, which was based on one of Bacon's medical treatises.[104] Also among the books transcribed for Robert there is the *De perspectiva*, perhaps the fifth part of Bacon's *Opus Majus*. New light is needed upon the subject of King Robert's books. It may clarify one aspect of the Renaissance in Italy and Bacon's real relationship to the movement.[105]

Several other Franciscans were interested in Greek and may very well have known something of the language themselves. William Herbert, a disciple of Bacon, and lector to the Franciscans at Oxford, was in Paris at the time of Bacon's death. He collected Bacon's manuscripts for Hereford. Probably he knew no Greek himself, but at least he helped to preserve for Hereford some of the works of a man who knew Greek and used it in his writings.[106] If Bacon's so-called "Homo sapientissimus" was William de la Mare, an identification which is now doubted,[107] he should be included here, for William was a Franciscan. If William de la Mare was not the "Homo sapientissimus," we cannot say whether the latter was a Franciscan or not. At all events this "most wise man" had a great influence upon Bacon. Bacon intimated that his friend knew enough Greek to correct the Vulgate and to justify his corrections.[108] William de la Mare (fl. 1250) studied at Oxford and Paris, and came under the influence of Bacon and Bonaventura. (He was a most serious man who criticized Thomas Aquinas.) He wrote *Quaestiones de Natura Virtutis* and *Commentaries on the Sen-*

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[104] E. Withington, in *Roger Bacon Essays*, edited by A. G. Little (Oxford, 1914), p. 353.

[105] A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917), pp. 218 ff. I have not been able to consult Faraglia's article on Robert's Library in *Archiologia storica Italiana*, Series v, Vol. III.

[106] Cp. *Chronicle of Lanercost*, edited by J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 134 ff. Cp. *Munimenta Franciscana*, I, app. II, 553.

[107] See Gasquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–21. Cp. S. A. Hirsch, *Roger Bacon Essays*, p. 102, n. 3. Here Hirsch says, "Mr. A. G. Little has communicated to me his doubts as to Denifle's identification of *homo sapientissimus* with William de la Mara, on the ground that the latter was too young. The doubts are of considerable force in view of this passage: *Et adhuc 'aliqui senes perdurant' qui sciunt multum ut homo sapientissimus, . . .*" Cp. E. Nolan, *op. cit.*, pp. lviii, lix.

[108] *Opus Tertium*, pp. 88, 89, 94.

tences.[109] Felder, who insisted that he was the "Homo sapientissimus,"[110] believed he was the man who, according to Bacon, spent forty years correcting the Vulgate and knew Greek.[111] Raymund Lully (1234–1315), another Franciscan, deserves mention. He was a great traveler and much interested in Oriental languages. There is no evidence that he knew Greek, but his interest in it is proved by the fact that he suggested to the Pope and the University (Paris) that a college be founded for the study of languages.[112] John Peckham (d. 1292), another solemn master of the Order, was a very learned man, but he showed little interest in and less knowledge of the Greek language. When he attempted to explain the Greek of *Kyrie eleison*, he did it inaccurately.[113] However, he made no pretense of knowing the language.[114] Lastly, the Franciscan, John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), in other fields one of the greatest scholars of the late thirteenth century, showed only a slight acquaintance with Greek. Duns Scotus, probably born at Dunstan in Northumberland, studied at Oxford, and later at Paris and Cologne. If we can accept the testimony of the inscription on his tomb in the Church of the Minorites in Cologne—"Scotia me genuit, Anglia me suscepit, Gallia me docuit, Colonia me tenet"[115]—it must be admitted that most of his maturer years were spent upon the continent. Scotus was a Realist, and part of his fame as a teacher and scholar came from his opposition to the teaching of Thomas Aquinas. He did not put the confidence in reason that

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[109] *D. N. B. sub* William de Mara.

[110] H. Felder, *op. cit.*, pp. 419 ff. "Anders die typischen Gelehrten der Oxforder Minoritenschule. Die angewandte Philologie hat dem Zeugnisse Bacon's Zufolge im 13 Jahrhundert keinen bedeutenderen Vertreter gefunden als jenen 'homo sapientissimus,' der mit William de Mara identisch sein musz. . . ."

[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 419 f." Als Bibelkorrektor all übrigen, Dominikaner wie Franziskaner, an Sach-und Sprachenkenntnis weit übertraf und in vierzigjährigen Arbeit den arg vernachlässigten Vulgatatext nach altlateinischen, griechischen und hebräischen Vorlagen zu verbessern suchte."

[112] Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, PT. I, 96.

[113] Charles T. Martin, *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham* (3v., London, 1882–1885), I, xcvii. Here Martin quotes the explanation. "Kyri enim idem est quod Christus et deus leys miserere, on nobis. Unde Kirie eleison tantum sonat O Christe Deus miserere nobis."

[114] *Ibid.*, I, xcvii.

[115] Quoted by Sandys, I, 598, n. 4.

Aquinas did, nor did he hold Aristotle in such high regard. In fact, he was partial to the opinions of the Platonists and Neo-Platonists. Nevertheless, his works include *Quaestiones* on Aristotle's *De Anima*, *Meteorologica*, and *Metaphysica*. Of the latter work he also drew up summaries and conclusions.[116] He was, moreover, interested in grammar. We find him quoting from Petrus Elias, Donatus, and Priscian.[117] In spite of the fact that he was considered by his contemporaries as a most skillful interpreter of tongues,[118] and was later described as "ita Aristotelis discipulus, ut doceri ab eo Aristoteles vellet, si viveret,"[119] no proof is found of his knowing much Greek. That he was interested in the works of the Greek writers is obvious.

At the Abbey of St. Albans, an important center of learning in the thirteenth century, there are only one or two men who assuredly knew Greek. Of these Nicholas the Greek is the most important. Leland, writing of him says, "Accersivit praeterea *Graecae* studiosissimus eloquentiae *Nicolaum*, fani *Albani* tunc temporis incolam: cui ob insignem, varium, & expeditam *Graecae* linguae cognitionem, *Graecus* nomen inditum est."[120] From St. Albans Grosseteste lured Nicholas to his household, as we have seen above. That Nicholas was a Greek scholar and translator is beyond doubt. Enough has been said of his helping Grosseteste. What he should have been doing at St. Albans before this is a question of moment. In the absence of any light on conditions at St. Albans for the study of Greek, it may be that Nicholas was teaching or translating Greek there before he went to Lincoln. St. Albans was also the home of Matthew Paris (d. 1259), to whose historical works we have had occasion to refer. These works show an interest in Greek rather than a knowledge of the language. Matthew's transcription of the Latin version of the

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[116] *Ibid.*, I, 598.
[117] *Ibid.*, I, 599.
[118] *Histoire Litéraire de la France*, XXV, 428.
[119] See the edition of Scotus' works by the Irish Franciscans (Lyons, 1639). Cited by Sandys, I, 599.
[120] John Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* I, 263.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,[121] and his transcription of the Greek numerals which John of Basingstoke had introduced[122] may be recalled to prove his interest. They also indicate a link between Lincoln and St. Albans, which was to be expected since Nicholas was at both places.

It is somewhat surprising that at a time when the Franciscan order included a number of distinguished champions of Greek study the Dominicans in England, priding themselves on their intellectual interests, seem to have had no part in the movement. They were more orthodox in their views and this may have made them slower to accept Greek learning. Some Dominicans probably acquired the rudiments of Greek, and one at least, Thomas Aquinas, had considerable knowledge of it.[123] We need not go into the question of Thomas's Greek, however, since he was never in England. It is likely that he came into contact with Englishmen now and then when teaching at Cologne, Paris, Naples, and Bologna, but he was not interested primarily in Greek and had no influence upon Greek studies. So far as England is concerned we can only say that we know nothing of any Dominicans who knew Greek at this time.

The love of using Greek words in Latin writings continues in the thirteenth century. In a poem on Susanna and the Elders, attributed to Alan of Melsa, we find such words embedded.[124] Alan of Melsa, who was a monk at a Cistercian abbey in Yorkshire and later at Beverly, a foundation of the Secular Canons in the same county, was Provost at Beverly (1204–1212).[125] We have seen that this was a likely place for an interest in Greek through its traditions. Alan's words were not unusual ones,[126] but he uses them plentifully. The use of such words as *cincopa*, *effimerim*, *sindicus*, *economus*, *pragmatici*, *yle*, *noym*,

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[121] British Museum Royal Mss. 4.D.VII. Cited by Sandys, I, 576.

[122] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, V, 285 f.

[123] See Tocco, in *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp), I, 665, cited by Sandys, I, 584.

[124] J. H. Mozley prints the poem in "Susanna and the Elders, Three Medieval Poems", *Studi Medievali*, III (Dec., 1930), 27–52.

[125] Cp. A. F. Leach, *Memorials of Beverly Minster* (Surtees Soc., vol. 108, 1903), II, xviii, 36.

[126] Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Here the editor comments on the Greek words used by the poet. He finds that only one word was unusual, effimerim, and explains that it apparently came from *'εφήμερος πυρετός*, a short fever, and perhaps was a play upon *'εφίμερος πυρετός*, fever of desire. He suggests also that murie may have meant a thousand times.

ymago, *stemata*, *zelotipa*, *presbiteros*, *dactulus*, *mesta*, *smigmata*, *abissam*, *ypocrita*, et cetera, shows a desire to display a smattering of Greek, if no great knowledge of the language.

As we look back over the thirteenth century and consider the status of Greek studies in England, we are conscious of considerable progress. Growing familiarity with the work of Aristotle has lessened the general distrust of pagan learning, and broken down at least the more active opposition to it. Mild curiosity develops into intelligent interest and in individual cases reaches to a profound conviction that any sound progress in intellectual matters can be based only on a first-hand study of the great Greek thinkers. The interest in the language becomes practical. Instead of men who in a more or less dilettante spirit learn a few hundred Greek words from Isadore and Priscian for the purpose of etymology or stylistic display, we have some who seriously endeavor to master the language in order to gain access to its intellectual treasures and render them available to others in translation. There is much talk of accuracy, and a considerable effort is made to provide for more adequate instruction through better grammars, the importation of new texts, and more competent teachers. The several centers of Greek interest which now develop are the most active to be found in England before the closing years of the fifteenth century, and three of England's thirteenth century Greek scholars at least—Grosseteste, Basingstoke, and Bacon—hold their own with any men who came before the humanistic movement was at its height.

VI

The Fourteenth Century Decline

If there was any period of years, within the limits we have set for ourselves, during which the interest in Greek especially flagged, it was during the fourteenth century. Two facts make themselves clear. No Greek scholar appears as a central figure inspiring a group of pupils and followers with a love of Greek, nor does any place of learning stand out as a center of Greek activity. In this century, there is no student of Greek of the importance of Grosseteste or Bacon, nor is there any evidence of lesser men, interested in Greek, forming a group or school of Greek study. Thus the fourteenth century contrasts with both the century before it and the century following. A few names may be mentioned of humanists who kept alive a tiny spark of interest in Greek learning, but in no case was the individual equipped with much knowledge of the language himself, and in every case we are impressed with his isolation from other students with whom we should have expected association. Aside from the question of students, it must be noted, there appear to have been possible centers for the study of Greek. York, and Ramsey Abbey, and the Franciscan Friary at Oxford are places which at once come to mind. Even at these places, however, we find little study of Greek.

What explanation can be offered for the falling off of interest in Greek in this century? It is obvious that no one reason can account for it. Many phases of the life of the people in England during this century militated against the spread of Greek learning. The period was one of internal strife and foreign campaigns. Such a time is not especially favorable to study. A certain amount of conservatism, prompted by fear of heresy, continued from the preceding centuries. Though Greek was admitted as a subject for lectures at Paris in 1325, there were restrictions placed upon the teaching of the language, lest dangerous doctrines should be introduced, and at this time the bishops gave up their custom of writing their names in Greek. In 1330, the

feeling against Greek was again strong at Paris, and was publicly expressed in a demonstration by one of the students.[1] Through most of the Middle Ages the study of Greek was kept alive largely by the enthusiasm of a few inspiring men. These men were rare in all branches of learning in the fourteenth century. In the later years of the century, an encouraging sign was evident at Paris, where, after a series of changes in the rules for study, most of the restrictions on the study of Greek were removed by 1366.[2] But in England, the change in attitude was not felt until later. The interests of Englishmen seem to have been directed into other channels.

Two factors may have special significance in this connection. One is the growing interest in logic and dialectic which we have noted on the continent in the thirteenth century. The effect of this tendency was felt later in England, and England was thus reflecting in the fourteenth century the lack of interest in grammar and literature that had for some time been manifesting itself in France. The other is the devastation caused by the Black Death. There has been a tendency at times to set the number of fatalities in England too high[3]; nevertheless the plague, reaching England in 1349 and coming in several waves, had far-reaching consequences. The greatest number of deaths were among the common people and friars.[4] Monasteries were depleted and the schools were decimated both as to teachers and pupils. In the general confusion that resulted from such a social and economic disturbance, one would hardly expect the intellectual life to go on in the quiet tenor of its way. The decrease in activity that characterized the study of Greek was due in part at least to the same causes that affected all other scholarly and literary pursuits.

In spite of the infelicity of the times, however, and in spite

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[1] Joseph V. LeClerc, *Histoire Littéraire de la France au Quatorzième Siècle* (Paris, 1865), I, 502.

[2] Denifle and Chatelain, *op. cit., passim.* For examples of the restrictions see the quotations above, pp. 20, 21.

[3] Edward Hutton, *The Franciscans in England 1224–1538* (Boston and New York, 1926), p. 172.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 172. Cp. G. G. Coulton, *The Black Death* (New York, 1930), pp. 27 ff. Coulton shows that the majority of estimates were too high.

of the fact that Greek and mathematics and experimental science were overwhelmed in the great turmoil of Scotian dialectics, there were signs in the fourteenth century pointing to a revival of interest in Greek which was to materialize in the fifteenth century. Some of these indications were to be found outside of England, but they related to her either directly or indirectly. For instance, in 1311, a Council of Vienna, in dealing with the problem of the unity of the churches, recommended that two teachers of Greek be appointed in each of the important cities of Italy. The importance of this provision will be seen in the next chapter when we turn to the English students who traveled to Italy to study Greek with the teachers in that country. Another sign was the movement, instigated by Clement V (d. 1314), to establish a Greek school in Rome, and his suggestion that money be collected to provide professors of Greek at Oxford.[5] There is a record of a payment in 1321 by the Cathedral Priory of Worcester of 12*d.* for the Greek master at Oxford.[6] Though little came of this plan there is some significance in the attitude taken toward the study of languages. An equally encouraging sign as the century ran on appeared in France. The Dominicans began to show an increased interest in Greek,[7]

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[5] Rashdall, Pt. II, 459.

[6] Francis J. Baigent, *The Registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio* (London, 1897), p. 389. "13 Feb. 1320–21. Rigaudus miseracione divina Wyntoniensis Episcopus, dilecto filio,—Officiali nostro Wyntoniensi, vel ejus . . . Commissario, salutem, graciam et benediccionem. Cum nuper in Parliamento apud Westmonasterium ultimo celebrato, per Venerabilem patrem dominum Walterum, Dei Gracia Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, tocius Anglie Primatem, et Suffraganeos suos ibidem adunatos, inter cetera tunc ordinata deliberacione provida condictum fuerit et concessum, quod pro stipendis Conversi docentis Oxonie linguam Ebraicam atque Grecam, et pro negociis aliis communibus ecclesie Anglicane, unus quadrans de libra bonorum ecclesiastiorum Cantuariensis Provincie in singulis diocesibus ipsius Provincie colligatur, et collecta inde peccunia citra primam Dominicam Quadragesime per deputatos collectores singulos Londonias transmittatur, Priori ecclesie conventualis Sancte Trinitatis Londoniarum, ad hoc ibidem electo communiter receptori, persolvenda." Cp. also A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917), p. 218, where Little comments on this tax and also notes that in 1325 a contribution of 17 ½*d.* was received from the Abbot of Westminster for teachers of Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean. See *Westminster Abbey Muniments*, 29465, cited by Little. Cp. M. Bateson, *Mediæval England*, (New York, 1904), p. 365.

[7] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXI, 216.

possibly, as Dr. Sandys has said, because their control of the Inquisition left them greater freedom to study what they liked.[8] At Paris, after the series of prohibitions and restrictions on Greek throughout the thirteenth century,[9] Greek lectures were allowed with only slight limitations, and by 1366 all restrictions were removed.[10] The place which Aristotle occupied in the curricula of the universities is to be gathered from the following list of requirements at Paris, as outlined by Rashdall: "For the B.A. degree it was necessary to take up Grammar, Logic, and Psychology, the first of these including the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu; the second, the *Organon* of Aristotle and *Topics* of Boethius; and the third, the *De Anima*. For the License in Arts, the subjects comprised the *Physics* and the *Parva Naturalia*, and, for the M.A. degree, the greater part of the *Ethics*, and at least three books of the *Meteorologica*."[11] Of course, this does not mean that Aristotle was studied in the original. There is great significance, however, in the fact that, after so much opposition toward his works, these same works now became acceptable. Such interest meant that eventually there would be another searching into the originals.

It has been claimed that there was a very thin line of Greek students among the English Franciscans in the fourteenth century,[12] but though this statement comes from a careful scholar, it seems hard to support. Walter Burley (1275–1345?) is important enough for mention, but there is some doubt about his being a Franciscan. He may have been an Augustinian.[13] He attended Merton College, Oxford, and Paris, where he had William of Ockham as a fellow student and Duns Scotus as a teacher. It is possible that he was a tutor of the Black Prince.[14] The fact that he wrote one hundred and thirty treatises on Aristotle alone, and that he won great fame in his lifetime for these works, marks him as an outstanding scholar of

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[8] Sandys, I, 607.
[9] Cp. above, p. 21 and note.
[10] Cp. above, p. 21 and note.
[11] Sandys, I, 607, 608. Cp. Rashdall, I, 436 f.
[12] A. G. Little, *Roger Bacon Commemorative Essays* (Oxford, 1914), p. 29.
[13] *D. N. B. sub* Walter Burley.
[14] *Ibid.*

his century. His chief works were the treatises on the *Ethics*, which he dedicated to Richard of Bury, the *Politics*, *Topica* (now Merton College MS. 295), *Problemata* (now Magdalen MS. 146), *Meteora* (Balliol MS. 93), and the *Organon*. Without doubt he knew some Greek.[15]

An undoubted Franciscan was Henry of Costessey or Cossey (d. 1336). Having studied in the Franciscan convent at Oxford, he became a doctor in theology. He was lector to the Franciscans at Cambridge about 1330, and has been called the outstanding Greek scholar of his times.[16] As a writer of commentaries on the Apocalypse and on the Psalms, he was well equipped, for he knew Hebrew, and had a knowledge of Greek words too.[17] What Greek he knew may have come to him indirectly through Grosseteste's influence, for he had at least one of the great teacher's books.[18] But no very strong case can be made for Henry's knowing much Greek. Even to imply, as Little has done, that he was one of the best Greek scholarsof his age does not mean much when we consider how little his contemporaries knew. As we turn from him no further evidence of Greek among the Franciscans at this time can be found.[19]

Adam Easton or Eston (d. 1397) has some claim to Greek scholarship through his writings, although little is known of his life, and the few facts which are in our possession have been much disputed. He was a doctor in theology at Oxford. He left England, probably rather early in life, and settled at Rome.

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[15] In the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (ed. James), p.16, No. 143 reads, "Gualteri Burlei Quaestiones in 8 libros Physicorum Aristotelis. Item, Ejusdem in duos libros de Generatione et Corruptione; in tres libros de Anima; de divisione Entis; de Sensibus; de sex Principiis; de duobus Principiis; et Expositio in lib. ὡερι 'ερμηνείας libris II. Completa est haec Expositio die 5 mensis Augusti, Anno Domini mcccxxxvij et anno aetatis Expositoris lxij."

[16] A. G. Little, *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays* (Oxford, 1914), p. 29.

[17] M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts at Christ Church College* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 28 ff.

[18] M. R. James, "The Christian Renaissance," *Cam. Mod. Hist.*, I, 587.

[19] Walter Brinkeley, who must not be confused with Richard Brinkeley, is the only other Franciscan of whom we know, who may have been interested in Greek. All that is known of him is the statement of Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), p. 126. "In varia opera Aristotelis accuratos commentarios."

Here about 1381 he was made a cardinal by Urban VI.[20] He wrote many works during the course of his life, none of which are extant. Two titles among the writings credited to him are the *De Veritate Catholica, Graece,* and *Meteora Aristotelis ex Graeco* (lib. I).[21] It seems from these works that he must have known Greek, and perhaps in this case Tanner, whose statements are not always trustworthy, may have been right in his note concerning Eston: "Adamus Eston, Estone, seu Esteton, humilibus in Anglia natus parentibus, adolescens S. Benedicti regulam amplexus, habitum illius ordinis suscepit Norwici, ubi bonum literarum fundamentum jecit, et humaniores literas una cum rudimentis linguae Graecae didicit. . . . Multa scripsit Latine, Graece, et Hebraice . . ."[22] Eston seems to have been an isolated scholar, however, and apparently had little effect upon the study of Greek in England. He probably did not spend much time in the island.[23] He died in Rome about 1397.

Just as in the case of John of Salisbury in the twelfth century, the greatest champion of humanism in the fourteenth century knew very little Greek. Richard of Bury (b. 1287) may be seen —even his bedroom was piled with manuscripts[24]—as a great lover of books and learning of all kinds. As a Greek scholar he is not impressive. Since he wrote the *Philoliblon*,[25] he knew a few words, as shown by his title and some scattered words in the text. He recognized the debt of the Latin writers to the Greek and encouraged the study of the language, urging the preparation of an adequate Greek grammar. He wrote: "We draw this one conclusion, however, from what has been said: namely,

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[20] *D. N. B. sub* Easton.

[21] John Stevens, *The History of the Antient Abbeys, Monasteries, etc.* (Complementary to William Dugdale's *Monasticon* (London, 1722), p. 210. Cp. *D. N. B. sub* Easton.

[22] Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 266, and *D. N. B. sub* Easton.

[24] Hook, *op. cit.*, IV, 96.

[25] There is now little doubt that Richard was the author of the *Philobiblon*. A satisfactory explanation of Robert Holkot's place as Richard's chaplain and amanuensis is given by J. E. Sandys, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 237 f. Cp. E. C. Thomas, *Philobiblon*, (London, 1885), Preface. Cp. Charles C. Mierow, "Mediaeval Latin Vocabulary, Usage, and Style, as Illustrated by the Philobiblon, 1345," *Philological Quarterly*, XXV, (October, 1930), pp. 343–357.

that ignorance of the Greek language is at this day highly injurious to the study of the Latins, without which the dogmas either of the ancient Christians or Gentiles cannot be comprehended . . . Wherefore we have taken care to provide for our scholars a Hebrew as well as a Greek grammar, with certain adjuncts, by the help of which studious readers may be instructed in writing, reading, and understanding the said languages."[26] This quotation not only shows Richard's attitude toward Greek, but also throws light upon the general state of Greek scholarship in England at the time. The *Philobiblon* is full of allusions to the great Greek writers and the author is extravagant in his praise of most of them. "The arch-philosopher Aristotle"[27] and "Aristotle, of gigantic mind"[28] are typical expressions. In his use of Greek words and allusions Richard of Bury reminds us of the vanity of an earlier age. It cannot be denied that he was interested in Greek, that he threw the weight of his influence on the side of Greek literature, and that in his collecting of books he sought to get Greek volumes.[29] But it is not without significance that this enthusiastic humanist, so in love with at least the idea of learning, knew little or no Greek himself.

Two well-known figures in the fourteenth century, who quoted Greek though they did not know the language, scarcely deserve mention. John Langton (d. 1337), having been a clerk in the royal chancery, became Chancellor in 1292. In trying to secure the bishopric of Ely, Langton was opposed in 1298 by Boniface though supported by Edward I. In the interest of getting this office he went to Rome. It is possible that here he became interested in Greek, for, when he returned to England, having become the Bishop of Chichester, he put a window in Chichester Cathedral on which was inscribed: "'Ως μικρὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, καὶ μι' ἡμερα τὰ μὲν καθειλεν 'υψοθεν, τὰ ς' ἦρ' ἄνω."[30] Sir John

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[26] *Philobiblon*, p. xliii.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. x, xi.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. xli.
[28] *Ibid.*, x, Par. 1.
[29] Hook, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 95–96. Hook explains that Richard of Bury left his books to Oxford (Trinity College) where Thomas Bradwardine found them, and among them evidently found some apocryphal Greek writers.
[30] Hook, *op. cit.*, III, 461.

Mandeville knew no Greek, but in the seventh chapter of his *Travels*, a chapter called "Of the Pilgrimages in Jerusalem, and of the Holy Places therabowte," he writes, "And there nygh where our lord was crucyfied is this writen in Greew: 'otheos basilion ysmen prosionas ergasa sothias emesotis gys.' " Again he says that there was in the rock where the cross was located these words: "Cyos myst ys basis toupisteos they thesmofy, . . ."[31] The passage is significant only in that it shows that the Greek was somewhere where Mandeville came across it, and that he was interested in preserving it. Beyond this it shows his ignorance rather than his knowledge of the Greek language.

During the latter half of the century there arrived in England a Greek student from abroad who might, under more favorable circumstances, have stimulated a slight interest in his tongue. Peter Philargi, a Cretan by birth, came north and studied at both Paris and Oxford. He was described by an English chronicler as "jocundus vir et eloquens in Latina lingua et Graeca, solemnis et nominatissimus Doctor in Theologia."[32] There is nothing to show that he had any influence upon the pursuit of Greek study in England, and probably did not stay long in the island. He later became Pope Alexander V.[33]

It is apparent that the search for evidence of an interest in Greek or for students of the language in the England of the fourteenth century is rewarded with almost negligible results. The century is a resting place between two periods of activity. In this respect England is in sharp contrast with Italy. There the *trecento* is characterized by an intense interest in Greek, an interest which we shall find reflected in England in the century to come.

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[31] Sir John Mandeville, *Travels*, (E. E. T. S.), CLIII, 50.

[32] See A. G. Little, *Grey Friars at Oxford* (Oxford, 1892), p. 249, where Little quotes Malmesbury, *Eulogium Historiorium*, III, 414, 415.

[33] Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 2.

VII

The Fifteenth Century

From the low ebb of Greek study reached in England in the fourteenth century a gradual recovery set in. This recovery was at first neither extensive nor rapid. The conditions that were responsible for the indifference to Greek in the days of Chaucer continued apparently into the fifteenth century. But as the decades wore on evidence of a revival increased and by the close of the century the movement was under way which reached its full fruition in the sixteenth century and gave England her place along with France and Germany and Spain in the Revival of Learning. And for England as for these other countries the one great source of inspiration was Italy. By the opening of the fifteenth century Italy had developed a new sympathy with the ancient Greek mind, and a new epoch of Greek learning had begun. The man who was largely responsible for the changed attitude and fresh enthusiasm was Manuel Chrysoloras, who lectured at Florence from 1397–1400.[1] Chrysoloras, a Byzantine by birth, was an eloquent and enthusiastic teacher. His lectures were crowded with students who became in turn crusaders for Greek scholarship. One of his pupils was Lionardo Bruni, the translator of Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Plutarch, who taught successively at Pavia, Milan, and Florence. Florence became a center of Greek activity. John Arretinus was busy there selling Greek manuscripts, sending scribes to the monastic libraries and elsewhere to copy the needed volumes. Attracted by the fame of Chrysoloras and Bruni, other Greek scholars flocked there. Georgius Trapezontus, Theodore Gaza, Gemistos Plethon, John Argyropoulos, Andronicus Callistus, all came early in the century.[2] It is worthy of note that all of these men came to Florence before the fall of Constantinople, an event which was at one time credited with the revival of Greek learning in Italy.

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[1] R. C. Jebb, "The Classical Renaissance," *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, I, 541.
[2] *Ibid*, I, 542–543.

Popular interest in Greek spread from Florence to other large cities in Italy. Rome became a scene of considerable activity. Argyropoulos, who had held the Greek chair at Florence (1456–1471) went to Rome to teach, where he had the celebrated pupil Reuchlin. After 1447 Demetrius Chalcondylas held a chair of Greek at Rome, and John Lascaris was there for a considerable time. The election of Pope Nicholas, a man who was interested in translations of Greek works, was an added encouragement to the students at Rome.[3] At Pavia, where Chrysoloras had taught for a time, Pier Candido Decembrio became interested in Greek, and at Ferrara, where Theodorus Gaza taught for nine years (1441–1450), the famous Guarino da Verona later held his lectures. Ferrara became the Mecca for English students who went to Italy to study.[4]

The activities of these men led to the production of many books of Hellenic interest. Theodore Gaza translated Aristotle, and compiled a Greek grammar. Politian (b. 1454), later the teacher of several English students in Italy, translated parts of the *Iliad* into Latin.[5] John Lascaris (1445–1535), a Greek who had come from Constantinople to Florence, collected Greek works on trips to the East for his patron, Lorenzo of Florence, and in addition to compiling a grammar, turned into Latin the *Idyls* of Theocritus (1–18) and Hesiod. In the latter part of the century, also, Aldus Manutius (b. 1450), who had been a student of Guarino at Ferrara, began the task of printing some of these works. The grammar of Lascaris had been printed at Milan in 1476. Some of Theocritus was printed in 1481, Isocrates in 1493. A grammar was also printed at Venice in 1484, and at Florence a Homer was edited by Chalcondylas in 1488. Aldus began his Greek editions in 1493 with *Hero and Leander* of Musaeus. In 1495 Hesiod, Theocritus (30 Idyls), Theognis, and some other gnomic poetry followed.[6] In three years (1495–1498) Aristotle was printed in five volumes. Finally, nine plays

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[3] *Ibid.*, I, 546.

[4] For example, William Grey, Robert Flemming, John Gunthorpe, and John Free. See below, pp. 104 ff.

[5] Books II-V. See Jebb, *op. cit.*, I, 555.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 562.

of Aristophanes came in 1498. Much of this activity in the printing of Greek books and of translations from the Greek belongs to the closing decades of the century. Many of the works mentioned appeared too late to be of use to the English students of this period, but they are indicative of the intellectual atmosphere that led to their production, the atmosphere into which some of the English students came.

At the same time that the facilities were increasing for the study of Greek in Italy, a new impetus to Greek learning was provided at home by the arrival of several famous men who knew Greek. In 1400–1401 the Greek Emperor, Manuel Palaeologus, came to England, accompanied by some learned Greeks. The party was entertained at Christ Church priory in Canterbury by the Prior, Thomas Chyllenden.[7] Although the causes of this visit were other than literary, there is every reason to suppose that the presence of such visitors at Canterbury would stimulate interest in the language they spoke. Another distinguished visitor was Poggio Bracciolini, who came to England (1418–1423) at the invitation of Henry Beaufort. Poggio was not only a Greek scholar but a noted collector of books.[8] Why he was in England is not definitely known, but as his special study was archæology,[9] we may suppose that any activity in the Greek language or literature was secondary. In the early years of the Council of Basel, Æneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II, was sent as an envoy to Britain. He was the patron of Adam Mulin or Molyneux, and encouraged the latter to perfect himself in the matter of style.[10] Adam Mulin, Secretary of State to Henry VI, was a frequent correspondent with Æneas Sylvius, and has been called the first Englishman "who acquired the art of writing a Latin letter in a polished style adorned with classical quotations."[11] Demetrius Palaeologus, a relative of

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[7] Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry*, II, 545, note.
[8] Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
[9] Jebb, *op. cit.*, I, 547.
[10] Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Here Einstein quotes one of Æneas' letters of encouragement to Adam Mulin. *Opera*, Epist., lxiv. Cp. Mandell Creighton, *The Early Renaissance in England* (Cambridge, 1895), p. 19.
[11] Sandys, *op. cit.*, II, 220. Cp. Mandell Creighton, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Manuel, was a soldier. We know that he was in England in December, 1455, for there is a record of a sum of money paid to him at that time.[12] It is likely that his visit was for political reasons rather than in the interest of learning. The visits of Manuel Chrysoloras, the great Greek teacher, however, may have been to carry on some work of the nature of his occupation in Italy, or to do some work with manuscripts. His first visit may have been early in the century.[13] He was certainly in England in 1456 for the record in the Rolls of the Exchequer reads: "26 April, 1456. Manuell Crisolars de Graecia. In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias in persolutionem xls. quos dominus Rex de avisamento Consilii sui eidem Manuell liberare mandavit habendos de dono suo per viam elemosine sue per breve de privato Sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino. xls."[14] Similar entries record the presence of John Argyropoulos and Emmanuel of Constantinople. The former could hardly have been in England without a great influence upon the study of Greek there. It is impossible, however, to trace his activities. Of Emmanuel of Constantinople's doings we have more information. He was a copyist of manuscripts and in 1456 probably received the pay mentioned in the Exchequer for work of this kind.[15] He was at one time employed as a copyist by Archbishop Neville, and produced a Greek manuscript containing some *sermones judiciales* of Demosthenes, and the letters of Æschines, Plato, and Chion (1468).[16] His presence in England meant a definite stimulus to the study of Greek and an addition to the facilities for the pursuit of Greek learning. It is worthy of notice that so many of these men were in England at the same time. It may well be that the English kings were combining a patronage of humanism with the requirements of diplomatic service. At least this was so when Henry VII favored the Italian

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[12] See Howard Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–116. Prof. Gray quotes from the Rolls of the English Exchequer. He notes that the sums, although they seem small, were not so relatively, and that these men were actually in England at the time of the payments. The records relate to Demetrius Palaeologus, Manuel Chrysoloras, Emmanuel of Constantinople, and John Argyropoulos.

[13] Francis A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation* (New York, 1900), p. 20.

[14] Howard Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[16] Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

Giovanni dei Gigli, who collected papal revenues, and was later made bishop of Worcester. He was succeeded by his nephew and later by another Italian, Gerolamo Ghinucci.[17] The presence of Greeks and Italians who knew Greek is coincident with the increasing desire to know Greek which developed rapidly in the late years of the century.

More interesting to us than the foreign students in England, however, are the English students who went to Italy. It has been remarked that during the fifteenth century educated Europe was but a synonym for Italy.[18] Ambitious students in England were not slow to realize the advantages which Italy offered for the study of Greek. Accordingly we find at first a few pioneers and then an ever increasing number of Englishmen taking the trip to Italy in this century. Considering the difficulty of such a journey the number of those who went is rather surprising. The purpose of the travelers, moreover, can hardly be mistaken. That the majority of them went to Italy to study Greek is evident from the teachers they sought. At least four Englishmen studied with Guarino at Ferrara. Another, Selling, went to study with Politian. Nearly a dozen who made the journey brought back a knowledge of Greek and Greek books, or were noted for their knowledge of Greek when they died in Italy. Those who went, moreover, were so pleased with the Greek learning they found there that they encouraged others to follow their example. Thus Selling enabled Linacre to take the trip in 1485, and William Grey encouraged his nephew to go to Italy for study under the great Greek teachers who were to be found there.[19]

Not all of the impulse toward the study of Greek, however, came from professed students. Something must be said for those patrons of learning who by their encouragement of scholars and their zeal for collecting did much to foster interest in the new learning. The great patron of letters in England in

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[17] Creighton, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 f.

[18] George H. Putnam, *Books and Their Makers During the Middle Ages* (2v., New York and London, 1896), I, 345.

[19] Possibly Guarino, under whom he had himself studied, and Nicolo Perotti. Cf. Savage, p. 193.

the fifteenth century was Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1447). He was a collector of books, an employer of scholars, and his reputation for liberality was international. His great wealth enabled him to gather a library of the first importance in England. He constantly employed men in Italy to seek out and buy books for his collection. One of these was Vincent Clement (probably a Spaniard who had been educated in Italy), a close friend of Humphrey, who possibly purchased in Rome some of the books Humphrey later gave to Oxford.[20] It is a possibility also that Andrew Holes, England's representative at the Pope's court in Florence, was purchasing books for Humphrey. He collected so many that he could not get them to England by land so he had to get a ship to bring them. Unfortunately nothing is known as to what became of these books.[21] Humphrey's library was unusually complete. Besides the usual Bibles, Church books, and works of the Fathers, he had works on astronomy, medicine, and the classics. A list of the books in his library includes Plato, Aristotle, Æschines, Terence, Varro, Livy, Ovid, Seneca, Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Apuleius, Suetonius, a Greek and Latin dictionary, and the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.[22] Humphrey, moreover, was generous with his books. He was interested in making Oxford a center of study in England, and most of his books were given to Oxford. His first gift of books to the university was before 1412,[23] and his last at his death in 1447. We have records of his gifts in 1430, 1435 (in this year he gave some money also, though the amount is unknown), 1438, 1439, 1443, and 1444.[24] The gratitude of the university was profound. Prayers were to be said for him on certain festivals, and both he and his consort were to be commemorated on the anniversaries of their death.[25] As a founder of libraries he was compared with Julius Caesar, and Parliament was requested to thank him

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[20] Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[21] Cp. Savage, *op. cit.*, 192.
[22] For the books belonging to Humphrey see Henry Anstey, *Epistolae Academicae* (Oxford Historical Society, Vols. xxxv and xxxvi, 1898) *passim*, and especially xxxv, 179, 183, 232.
[23] *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls Ser.), p. 266.
[24] Cp. Savage, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–140.
[25] *Epistolae Academicae, Ox. Hist. Soc.*, xxxv, 184–191.

"hertyly and also prey Godd to thanke hym in tyme commyng, wher goode dedys ben rewarded."[26] He was called most serene and illustrious, a lord of glorious renown, "the very beams of the sun himself."[27] It was stated that under him Greek had revived so that now Plato and Aristotle could be studied in the original.[28]

Besides collecting books, Humphrey was a patron of scholars at home and abroad. He used his efforts to bring from Italy some of the younger humanists to teach him the classics,[29] and corresponded with greater scholars who could not be lured to England. He succeeded in getting Lapo da Castiglionchio, who brought a number of renderings from the Greek with him. Also he secured Tito Livio of Forli, called the "Poet and Orator of the Duke of Gloucester,"[30] for his teacher. At the ducal court we find living a young man named Antonio Beccaria, from Verona, a friend of Filelfo. This young Italian wrote erotic poems in excellent Latin and made some translations from the Greek.[31] Outside these foreign students Humphrey had correspondence with Englishmen interested in humanism, especially Adam Mulin, Thomas Chandler, and William Grey.[32] As Humphrey was prepared to reward humanists in a princely manner, he attracted interest on the continent as well as at home. In Italy especially, scholars began to dedicate their works to him. For example, Lionardo Bruni dedicated his translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, and the first part of the *Politics* to him.[33] Pier Candido Decembrio dedicated his translation of

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[26] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[27] *Munimenta Academica*, p. 758. Cp. Savage, *op. cit.*, 141.
[28] Karl J. Holzknecht, *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1923), p. 227.
[29] Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[31] Bernard Ten Brink, *Early English Literature* (trans. H. M. Kennedy, New York, 1883), II, Pt. I, 319.
[32] Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[33] Ten Brink, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. I, 320–321. For the relationship of Bruni and Humphrey, see G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums* (2v., Berlin, 1880–1881). II, 256 ff. "So hatte der Herzog die aristotelische Ethik, die Bruni übersetzt, gesehen, spendete dem Verfasser sein reichliches Lob und mahnte ihn, in desselben weise auch die Politik des Aristotelis zu übertragen." II, 257–258.

Plato's *Republic* to Humphrey,[34] and probably the Latin version of the same work by Laurentius Valla was inscribed to him.[35] The list of those he helped is a long one. No one outside the ranks of professed students did more for the study of Greek than the "Good Duke Humphrey."

There is little evidence that Humphrey had a knowledge of Greek himself. He may have had a smattering of the language, since he had Beccaria living with him at his court, and owned a Greek book.[36] While his interest in Greek was only one side of his broad humanism, nevertheless, under his patronage, Antonio Beccaria translated the *De Situ Orbis* of Dionysius from Greek into Latin, and also some tracts of Athanasius. A copy of this manuscript has in the handwriting of Humphrey the statement: "Cest livre est a moi Homphrey Duc le Gloucestre: le quel je fis translater de Grec en Latin par un de mes secretaries Antoyne de Beccara nè de Verone."[37] As we have seen above, he corresponded with Bruni and Decembrio, encouraging them in their translations. He provided the library at Oxford with new translations of Plato and Aristotle. The only Greek work he left to Oxford, however, was the glossary.[38] It is noteworthy that soon after Humphrey's death, Oxford became the center of Greek study. Humphrey no doubt was responsible to some degree for this development; in a way he prepared the ground. He himself did not live to see the harvest or have direct contact with the men who were foremost in the field of Greek study in the second half of the century.

The First Oxford group of Greek scholars, to whom we now turn, apparently all had their interest in Greek aroused at Oxford. They were not satisfied, however, with the facilities at home and one by one they traveled to Italy to induge their love of the new learning. Of the five men in this group not all

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[34] Ten Brink, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. I, 319.
[35] Thomas Warton, *op. cit.*, II, 267.
[36] The Greek and Latin dictionary already referred to. See H. M. Lyte, *A History of the University of Oxford* (London, 1886), p, 321. See also *Munimenta Academica*, pp. 758–772 ff.
[37] Thomas Warton, *op. cit.*, III, 51. Cp. Karl J. Holzknecht, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
[38] H. M. Lyte, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

were equally able to take the trip. Nevertheless, rich or poor, they were inspired to go to Italy. It is as surprising to find a man of Grey's wealth and position going to Italy in pursuit of Greek as to find a poor man like Free making his continued sacrifices for the sake of learning. Grey, however, had before him the example of Humphrey, which had shown what great things could be accomplished when wealth and an interest in learning were associated.

One of the most important men of the first Oxford group was William Grey. He was a wealthy man, related to the royal family. After his study at Balliol he went to Italy. His connections with Duke Humphrey have been noted, and it is likely that the influence of the great patron was responsible for Grey's love of humanistic studies.[39] In Italy he studied under Guarino, and at the latter's death Grey was mentioned as a great humanist in the funeral oration delivered by Carbo.[40] Grey had been drawn to Ferrara by Guarino's fame, after studying at Cologne, Florence, and Padua. At Ferrara he lived in luxurious fashion, keeping Nicolo Perotto, a young scholar, in his own house.[41] This was mutually satisfactory. Grey thus came to know the best Greek and Latin writers, and became known both as a scholar and a patron. His kindness to his fellow countryman, John Free, will be seen in a moment. Grey also was a great collector of manuscripts. His wealth enabled him on his journeys to search out and buy books which a poorer man could not have afforded. The valuable collection which he made he brought to England, and at his death in 1478 he left it to his college, Balliol, in Oxford. At Oxford, too, after his return from Italy Grey tried to arouse an interest in Greek. He was one of the first who brought to England a notion of the Renaissance that

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[39] In a way the five men of the first Oxford group were the spiritual children of Humphrey. It must be noted that four were Balliol men (Humphrey's own college) and that they all studied under Guarino. See Cecilia M. Ady, "Italian Influences on English History during the Period of the Renaissance," *History*, IX (Apr., 1924–Jan., 1925), 291–292.

[40] Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

was occurring in Italy. One result of his efforts is known. It was by his influence that a nephew of his took the Italian journey to study Greek.[42] His encouragement of Free enabled the latter to become a great Greek scholar, and his gifts to Balliol made the library there the best at Oxford.[43]

The most colorful of the students of the first Oxford group was John Free. His story is a romance of scholarship. He was the type of wandering student, who, though at times near starvation, overcomes all obstacles and finally wins for himself a distinguished name. John Free had studied at Balliol College and was living at Bristol when, as Leland says, Italian merchants induced him to go to Italy.[44] Whatever the cause of his going, Free crossed the Alps between 1425 and 1429 with ten pounds in his possession. Once in Italy he studied for a time at Florence, then at Ferrara under Guarino, and later went to Rome. Here he found the encouragement of a fellow countryman, John Tiptoft, to whom he dedicated one of his translations. He was constantly in straitened circumstances, constantly handicapped in his work by poverty. Of some ten letters[45] written from Rome, five were to William Grey (Grey had studied with Free for a time at Ferrara) in which he speaks of his hardships and appeals for aid. He complained to his patron that since his arrival in Rome he had not heard from home,[46] and that, although in good health, he was worried about the health of Grey, and adds that he was so poor that he was forced to sell his Greek books to Jews in order to maintain himself.[47] His translations from the Greek, he urged, would contribute to his patron's glory, and as he wished to undertake more such translations, he asked for an addition to his usual allowance in order to purchase the texts.[48] His ambition was to increase the number of Englishmen who were proficient in Greek. He was collecting

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[43] Thomas Warton, *op. cit.*, II, 555.
[44] Leland, *op. cit.*, I, 466 f. Cp. Einstein, *op. cit.*, 21, and Thomas Warton, *op. cit.*, II, 555.
[45] Bodleian Ms. 587. See Appendix for the transcription of these letters.
[46] See below, p. 141.
[47] See below, p. 144.
[48] See below, pp. 144 f.

Greek works in Italy to bring to England, but he did not live to return, and whatever books of his came to England were brought by his friends, probably by Flemming or Gunthorpe.

As a Greek scholar Free deserves a high rank in the fifteenth century. Einstein has praised him extravagantly but not without cause. He says of Free, "He was not only the most learned Englishman of his age, but the first who even attempted to reach the goal of universality Italy had created."[49] Of Free's fame there can be no doubt. His reputation as a Greek scholar was made by his admirable translation of the *Enconium Calvitii* of Synesius.[50] He is also probably the translator of Diodorus Siculus[51] and the author of a version of some of the works of Xenophon.[52] In addition to these works we know of another, which has been described as follows: "On the margin of f. 1, Ms. F. M. CXXIV, in Balliol College (A universal cosmography in the writing of John Free) is a note by a more recent hand, 'This book on cosmography was written at Padua in Italy, by John Free of Bristol, who studied at Padua and at Rome and was a professed doctor in medicine, civil law, and Greek.' "[53] The influence of Free's works was felt in England mostly in the sixteenth century. They were known, however, in the fifteenth century. At Glastonbury, the Abbot John Selwood was not only familiar with them, but presented one of his translations (*Synesius de laude Calvitii*, now Bodl. Ms. 80)[54] to a monk of the Abbey. There is also a manuscript (now Bodl.

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[49] Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Cp. J. E. Spingarn, "The Unpublished Letters of an English Humanist," *Journal of Comparative Literature*, 1 (1903), 47–65. See especially p. 50. Here Spingarn criticizes Free in that he lacked the broader and higher idea of education held by such men as Guarino or Laurentius Valla. It is perfectly true that the influence of the Renaissance was rather external with Free in spite of his efforts for an encyclopedic knowledge. Nevertheless, when we take into account the fact that England was lagging behind Italy, and when we consider Englishmen who were his contemporaries rather than the Italians, we must give him credit as Einstein has done.

[50] Ingram Bywater, *Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England* (Oxford, 1919), p. 7.

[51] Leland, *op. cit.*, 1, 467. "Transtulit in *Latium Diodori Siculi* bibliothecam *Graecam.*"

[52] Bywater, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[53] Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 1.

[54] Cited by Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 64, n. 1.

Auct. F. 3. 25) which is described as "quondam Johannis Free, de Bristtolia," which is interesting because it is one of the few manuscripts of the poets. It contains three tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides as well as the *Idyls* of Theocritus, and Hesiod and Pindar.[55]

About the same time John Gunthorpe made the trip to Italy. As a Greek scholar there is less to be said for him than for Free. He probably had some knowledge of the language, for he too studied under Guarino at Ferrara.[56] While in Italy Gunthorpe became famous as a collector and benefactor. Upon his return to England he seems to have lost some of his interest in Greek learning or at least his activity was diverted into other channels. He was elevated to high positions by a series of promotions, becoming Dean of Wells, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Master of the King's Hall, Cambridge, and in 1487 Latin Secretary to the Queen. The part he played in bringing Greek manuscripts to England was important. It is likely that among those he brought back with him were some of Free's books. Most of Gunthorpe's collection was left by him to Jesus College, Cambridge, upon his death in 1498.[57] Of the value of the works in this collection there can be little doubt.[58] It is rather disappointing, however, that there is not more evidence aside from the collection of manuscripts, to show what Gunthorpe himself knew of Greek authors, or what he did for Greek learning in England upon his return.

A fourth Oxford man to avail himself of Greek study in Italy was Robert Flemming. After completing his work at Oxford he became Dean of Lincoln Cathedral. His increased interest in Greek and his sudden determination to take the

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[55] *Bodl. Misc. Codices*, 99. The phrase "of Bristol" brings up the interesting possibility that Free had the volume before leaving England. At least he did not return to Bristol after his Italian journey. Cp. M. R. James, "The Greek manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," p. 349.

[56] Bywater, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 f.

[57] M. R. James, *The Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collection of Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1899) in *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Publications*, XXXII, 13.

[58] Alexander Baumgartner, *Die Lateinische und Griechische Literatur der Christlichen Völker* (Vol. IV in *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900), p. 578. "John Gunthorpe und John Tiptoft, Earl von Worcester, hatten aus Italien ebenfalls die reichsten Bücherschätze mit nach England genommen . . ."

Italian journey may have been prompted to some extent by his relative, Richard Flemming, who, at the Council of Constance, when Italian humanism first crossed the Alps, had become famous because of his attacks upon Wycliffe. Robert left his position at Lincoln and we know that he too was fortunate enough to come under the influence of Guarino, studying Greek and Latin with the famous teacher. Later he settled for a time at Rome. Robert's contribution to scholarship was a Greek-Latin dictionary which has disappeared.[59] In 1450 Flemming was in Italy but probably returned to England in that year.[60] From then on, his life was uneventful. That he kept his interest in Greek is shown by his borrowing a Greek book from Darley Abbey in 1452 (referred to in footnote 59). At his death (1483) he left his books to Lincoln College, Oxford, where they were lost at the time of the destruction of libraries under Henry VIII.[61]

Finally one other man belonging to the first Oxford group of Greek scholars is John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. Being also a man of wealth he went from Oxford to Italy to continue his study of the classics. At Padua he spent most of his time on Latin. He must have had considerable brilliance as a scholar, for later he thrilled Æneas Sylvius, the Pope, with a Latin oration.[62] Tiptoft next went to Ferrara, where he met the aged Guarino. At Florence he heard John Argyropoulos lecture.[63] He was also intimate with Vespasiano while in Florence.[64] It was at this center that Tiptoft began to have manuscripts copied and to collect books. He became known in Italy as a second Mæcenas. It was thought at the time that his collection of books had almost despoiled Italy. This great collection came to England with him and was left to Oxford in 1470, when

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[59] Bywater, *op. cit.*, p. 7. "But Leland tells us that he had seen a Graeco-Latin lexicon compiled by Fleming, and one may still see in the Bodleian, a Greek ms. (Laud. Gr. 28) of the Liturgy of St. Basil with notes stating that the ms. had been borrowed by Fleming from Darley Abbey (in Derbyshire) in 1452 and duly returned."

[60] Thomas Warton, *op. cit.*, II, 554.

[61] Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 153. Cp. Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[62] Cp. Thomas Warton, *op. cit.*, II, 557, and Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[63] Voigt, *op. cit.*, II, 258.

[64] Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

John went to the scaffold.[65] The importance of Tiptoft was not so much in what he did himself in Greek as in the encouragement he gave to others and in the facilities he placed at Oxford for the scholars in England who were to follow him. When we consider the service of these men to the cause of Greek scholarship we must conclude that it was largely preparatory. With the exception of John Free, and to a lesser extent, Flemming, they were significant more for their personal enthusiasm than for their participation in the work of translation and editing. They were not teachers and founded no school. But by their collecting of books and their gifts to Oxford libraries they laid a foundation for the subsequent revival in the following century. One would like to know whose influence at Oxford was so great as to inspire five men of such varied types with their compelling interest in the new learning.

Mention must be made of several other men, not connected with any group, who participated in the fifteenth century revival of Greek. The first was Reynold Chicheley. About the middle of the century this man, related to the royal family, made the Italian journey. He studied at Ferrara, and later became the rector of the university there. There is no way of knowing that he knew any Greek, but we know that he was a lover of the classics, and well known as a humanist.[66] A more important figure was Andrew Holes (the Italian Messer Andrew Ols, identified by Dr. Sandys). From what is known of Holes it may be gathered that he was a person of some consequence. He represented England at the papal court in Florence, and was Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1450–1452.[67] He was of such importance that Vespasiano wrote his life, together with that of Grey.[68] As Holes was looked upon as a patron of Greek students,[69] and had collected a great number of books to send by ship to England, I strongly suspect a relationship with Humphrey of Gloucester. Unfortunately what books Holes collected we do

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[65] *Epistolae Academicae*, II., 390 f. Cp. Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[66] Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, VI, Pt. III, 1581. Cp. Einstein, p. 15.
[67] Howard Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 ff.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

not know, nor do we know what became of them after they arrived in England.[70] Holes cannot be denied some influence in helping the cause of Greek, and it is to be hoped that more information concerning him may still be uncovered.

William Wey or Way (1407–1476) had some acquaintance with Greek; at least he had picked up some practical knowledge of the language as it was used in the fifteenth century. A native of Devonshire, he had studied at Oxford and received his Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity degrees there before 1430.[71] He had held a fellowship at Exeter College, Oxford, until 1442, when he was apparently transferred to the Royal College at Eton.[72] Not satisfied with the routine, however, he began a series of travels of which he has left interesting accounts.[73] There were three trips: to Compostella, 1456; to Jerusalem, 1458; and to Jerusalem again in 1462. On these journeys Wey passed through many of the principal cities of Europe and made notes for the use of future travelers. He made lists of foreign expressions and their meanings for travelers[74] and he wrote some scraps of Greek in addition to the alphabet and numbers, as he said for

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[70] Cp. Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

[71] *D. N. B. sub* Wey. *The Itineraries of William Weye* was printed by Rev. George Williams for the Roxburghe Club (London, 1857). See Introd., p. ii. See also H. C. M. Lyte, *A History of Eton College 1440–1880* (rev. ed., London, 1889), pp. 54–56.

[72] Wey was not mentioned as one of the original fellows but came at least during the first decade of the existence of the foundation. His name occurs in the books of Eton in 1453 and he was granted an extension of time of absence (above the usual six weeks) by Henry VI. *The Itineraries of William Weye*, Introd., pp. ii–v.

[73] *The Itineraries of William Weye* contains an account of the three major journeys.

[74] For example,

Good morrow, calomare
Welcome, calosertys
Tell me the way, dixiximo strata
Wyth goyd wyl, mitte karas
Com hyethyr, elado
Sytte, catase
Gyff me that, doys me tutt
Man, antropos
Woman, geneca
Salt, alase
Appyl, mela
Botter, foter

and about 300 words of this kind. The "Alphabet" has about 750 words. *The Itineraries of William Weye*, pp. 102–115.

those who wished to read Greek.[75] He says: "Sed pro tanto quod peregrini ibunt per diversas patrias, necessarium est ut aliquid sciant de linguis illis, per que possunt petere victualia. Igitur scribam hic qualiter loquentur et sonabunt, et postea, pro illis qui volunt legere Grecum, scribam alphabetum, *In Nomine Patris*, *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, et *In Principio erat verbum*. Primo scribam qualiter loquentur antequam petent victualia."[76] It is the English-Greek and Greek-Latin word lists that especially interest us in Wey's work. They definitely place him in the number of travelers who were bringing a knowledge of Greek into England. Wey's influence in England, however, was slight. Upon his return to England, he became an Augustinian monk at Edingdon, where he died and where his book was found.[77] He was an isolated figure who interested himself in the strange language, and was unique in that what Greek he knew was the colloquial Greek of his day.[78] Hardly a word of classical Greek appears in this manuscript.[79]

A second and later Oxford group contains the names of the most important men in England in the development of Greek at this time. They were a vital part of the Humanistic Revival which took place in the later years of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth century.

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[75] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[76] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. v. The note on his death reads: "Hence it was that in the 70th year of his age, he set out on his last pilgrimage . . . and the following notice from the last leaf of the MS. . . . "ΙΓ ΕΛΕΟΣ" "Ex dono Magistri Willelmi Wey quondam socii Collegii Regalis beatissimae Mariae Etonae juxta Windesoram huic Monasterio de Edyngdon; qui viz. Magister obiit Anno Dni M° ccclxxvi xxxna die Mensis Novembris. Ex domo mea numquam egredieris."

[77] *Ibid.*, p. xv. The editor thinks that Wey knew little of any kind of Greek. "This vocabulary, which, by the way, clearly proves that our learned clerk was not quite at home in the Greek language, may exercise the ingenuity of the Modern Greek scholar, but would not repay the space requisite for minute criticism."

[78] A glance at Wey's Greek words shows the colloquial quality of his Greek. For example, dua (Gr. δύο); trai (Gr. τρεῖς, τρία); pende (Gr. πέντε); antropos (Gr. ἄνθρωπος); geneca (Gr. γυνή, γυναικός). *Ibid*: 102–115

[79] There are two other names to be included among the Greek students on the authority of Leland only. In the year 1429 there seems to have been a Carmelite monk at York, John Bate by name, who may have known some Greek. (Thomas Warton, *op. cit.*, II, 554 quoting Leland, *op. cit.*, I, 435 Leland (p. 435) says, "Erat enim *Graecae* linguae studiosus . . ." John Thoneus is described thus: "Nec minori usus est in sacrarum rerum lectione cura. Senserat deesse aliquid ad circulum, nempe! *Graecae*| cognitionem linguae." (John Leland, *op. cit.*, I, 481).

One of the minor figures of this group was William Shirwood. He took a degree at University College, Oxford, and later studied at Paris. He was on a trip to Italy which was described thus: "Fuit aliquand iu in *Italia*, et *Angli* causas egit. quo etiam tempore *Graeca* exemplaria, quorum studiosissimus erat, sibi comparavit, & in Britanniam advexit."[80] William Shirwood enjoyed many interesting friendships. On an agreeable trip in 1487 for Henry VII, he had for companions such famous men in Greek scholarship as Thomas Milling, William Selling, and Thomas Linacre. On journeys of this kind Shirwood bought books. He knew some Greek himself. The King's letters to Sixtus IV, dated February 29 and March 2, 1484 (Rymer's *Foedora* XIII, 214, 216), in enumerating the merits which might help to make Shirwood a Cardinal, especially mention his skill in Latin and Greek.[81] In spite of his reputation as a Greek scholar and the fact that he collected books in Italy, it is difficult to trace the Greek works in his collections. Leland reported that he had Greek books and that Tunstall saw them at Bishop Auckland's. At the Dissolution Shirwood's books were lost. One Greek work of his has turned up. It is Theodore Gaza's Greek Grammar with Shirwood's name and his inscription upon it: "scriptus emptusque Romae a°. do^{i}. 1476."[82] It is now at University College, Cambridge (Ti. 4. 16). The Latin works of Shirwood's collection have been identified and are now in the Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford, and it is possible that some of his Greek books may still be found.

A second member of the group, George Neville, was a close friend of Shirwood's. While at Balliol College he may also have known Tiptoft, for the latter became Neville's brother-in-law.[83] Neville seems to have been rather a patron of Greek learning than a Greek student himself. A Greek manuscript, already mentioned, containing some *sermones judiciales* of Demosthenes and letters of Æschines, Plato, and Chion, which

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[80] Leland, *op. cit.*, I, 262. Cp. Andrew Kippis, *op. cit.*, pp. 668–669. Kippis quotes Leland.

[81] P. S. Allen, "Bishop Shirwood of Durham and His Library," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1910), pp. 445–456. See especially p. 450.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 446.

was written for Neville, probably in England and by Emmanuel of Constantinople, has the inscription of the donor dated 30 Dec., 1468.[84] This manuscript is now thought to have some connection with the Ferrara group and in 1910 was in the private collection of Isaac Voss, of Leyden.

One of the older members of the second Oxford group was the Benedictine, William Selling. He was a Fellow of All Souls' College, but became disgusted with the narrow philosophy taught at Oxford.[85] In 1464 he made a trip to Italy with another Benedictine monk, William Hadley. The two spent about three years together at Padua and Bologna, studying and collecting books.[86] They met the great scholars, Politian and Chalcondylas. · Selling returned to England in 1467, but in 1469 went again to Italy, this time going with Reynold Goldstone, and having as his destination Rome. Upon his return Selling tried to make Canterbury a center for Greek study in England. With the books he had collected in Ita'y as a start he established a library for this school. Most of the valuable library perished in the fire probably caused by the drunken servants of Leighton, who was lodged in the building which housed the books on the eve of the Dissolution.[87] A few works only escaped. Of these the ones of interest to us are a fifteenth century Greek psalter, a copy of Euripides, and a fine Homer.[88]

Selling, moreover, knew Greek himself, and taught it at Canterbury, besides acting as the patron of Greek students. Thomas Milling is one of those who came under Selling's influence. More important still was the fact that Selling taught Greek to Thomas Linacre and enabled him to make the Italian journey in 1485.[89] In addition, he encouraged all students by placing his valuable collections at their disposal. Henry Wharton

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[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 446 ff.

[85] Thomas Warton, *op. cit.*, II, 556.

[86] *Literae Cantuarensis* (ed. Sheppard, J. B., 3v., London, 1887–1889), III, 239. Cp. M. R. James, "The Christian Renaissance," *Cam. Mod. Hist.*, I, 598.

[87] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. li.

[88] M. R. James, *The Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collections of Manuscripts*, p. 9. The Homer and Euripides are now in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

[89] Bywater, *op. cit.*, p. 7, citing Leland. Cp. M. R. James, "The Christian Renaissance," *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, I, 598.

in his *Anglia Sacra* describes Selling thus: "Vir siquidem tam divinarum quam saecularium literarum peritia, Latina quoque & Graeca lingua apprime institutus."[90] Next to the Prior's Chamber he built a tower called the *Gloriet* (afterwards called the Prior's Study). He adorned a Library over the Prior's Chapel with a fine ceiling, and stored it with many books for the use of those interested in letters, whom most anxiously and kindly he assisted and encourage. On his monument which now remains at Canterbury there is an inscription which testifies to his knowledge and interest in Greek: "Doctor theologus Selling Graece atque Latina Lingua perdoctus."

An interesting question has arisen concerning the first teacher of Greek at Oxford, and the claims of an Italian to this honor. Cornelius Vitelli of Corneto has long been mentioned in this connection and considered the teacher of William Grocyn. The usual view is expressed by Leach: "The warden of New College, Thomas Chandler, introduced Greek lectures there by an Italian, Cornelio Vitelli, in 1465, and William Grocyn, the first 'Grecian' in England, who left Winchester for New College in that or the following year, learnt the rudiments from him."[91] There is some doubt, however, that Vitelli knew Greek. The only evidence we have to go on is Leland's reference to him as the prelector of New College and a sentence in Polydore Vergil, "Observing that William Lily on his return from Italy was the first Englishman to teach letters in England [!], Polydore adds, 'Antea enim Cornelius Vitellius, homo Italus Corneti . . . natus nobili prosopia omnium primus Oxonii bonis literis iuventutem erudivit.' "[92] If "bonis literis" meant Greek, then Vitelli deserves the name of the first Greek teacher, but such an interpretation is by no means inevitable.

Whether or not Vitelli deserves the credit for teaching Greek at Oxford, a school of Greek study appeared at that institution about the time he was there. Three men were the outstanding figures in this group, William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, and

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[90] Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (London, 1691), I, 145 f.
[91] A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915), p. 247.
[92] *Polydori Vergilii Urbanatis Anglicae Historiae Libri Vigintiseptem* (Basle, 1570), p. 618, quoted by Howard Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

William Latimer. Of these Grocyn (d. 1519) was the most important. After studying at New College, where he apparently acquired the rudiments of Greek either from Vitelli or by some other means,[93] in middle age he took the Italian journey, and attended the classes of Politian and Chalcondylas.[94] He returned to England in 1490, and the next year taught Greek probably at Exeter College.[95] Assisted by the younger Linacre and Latimer, Grocyn established a school where for the first time Greek could be adequately learned without going to Italy. Grocyn also founded a library probably containing many more Greek works than are now known to have been in it. Most of his Greek books have been scattered, but we know that among these was an Aristotle, a Plutarch in Latin translation, and a Greek and Latin Testament.[96] Besides his work in teaching we know that Grocyn planned a translation of one third of Aristotle, hoping that Linacre and Latimer would fulfill their promise to do the rest of the translation. At all events we find a firmly established school of Greek in England from about 1491.

Thomas Linacre learned Greek first from Selling. He had gone to Canterbury College, Oxford, in 1480, but in 1485–1486 he went to Italy with his master, who was on an embassy to the Pope. Selling was able to introduce Linacre to many of the famous men in Italy. Among others he made the acquaintance of Politian, and Aldus Manutius, the printer.[97] He studied Greek under Chalcondylas and under Politian, then one of the most famous teachers in Italy.[98] Thus he acquired more Greek than Selling had been able to give him. Linacre next went to Rome, where he was for some time in the company of Grocyn and

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[93] Howard Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 101. Gray quotes Lily to show that Grocyn learned Greek first in England. "Prima Graecae et latinae linguae rudimenta in Britannia hausit mox solidiorem eisdem operam sub Demetrio Calchondile et Politiano praeceptoribus impendit . . ."

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 101. Cp. Bywater, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[95] Bywater, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[96] Savage, pp. 226–227.

[97] Cp. Einstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 31. "From him Linacre acquired his living knowledge of the classics, and the purity of style for which he was celebrated; for Politian boasted of his students, that they knew Greek as if the ancient Athenians had settled in Florence."

Latimer. While he was reading a copy of Plato's *Phaedo* in the Vatican, he met the great Hellenist, Hermolaus Barbarus, who urged upon him and his two English companions the task of translating the works of Aristotle into Latin.[99] Of the three Linacre alone is credited with finishing his share.[100] Upon his return to England in the last decade of the century, Linacre took up the task of teaching Greek at Oxford but was turned from this occupation by other pressing duties. He had studied medicine at Padua and became physician to Henry VIII. Late in life he took priest's orders.[101]

The third member of this group, William Latimer (d. 1545), was the youngest, and therefore much of his important work in the revival of Greek at Oxford was carried on in the sixteenth century. He was educated at Oxford and was a fellow at All Souls, in 1489. While on his Italian journey he lived for a while at Florence, probably studying Greek there.[102] He later was associated with Grocyn and Linacre at Rome. He must have been a proficient Greek student at this time, for, as we have seen, he was assigned the task of translating one-third of Aristotle.[103] This task he apparently did not accomplish. The only works of his which exist are some letters to Erasmus. He was a capable Greek scholar, but was always rather hesitant about displaying his knowledge.[104] He is important in the history of Greek scholarship as the Greek teacher of Erasmus in the early sixteenth century. He was too late to have any great influence in the fifteenth century.

John Farley (fl. 1450) was interested in Greek, although it is difficult to determine the extent of his knowledge.[105] All that we know of his familiarity with the language is that his name

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[99] Cp. Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[100] Oxford Historical Society ,XVI, *Collectanea*, II, 346.

[101] William Barry, "Catholic Europe," *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, I, 643.

[102] Cp. Alexander Baumgartner, *Die Lateinische und Griechische Literatur der Christlichen Völker* (Erste und Zweite Auflage) in *Geschichte der Weltliteratur* (Freiburg im Bresgau, 1900), IV, 579.

[103] See above, p. 115.

[104] J. Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge* (2v., Cambridge, 1873–1884), I, 519, note. Cp. Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[105] H. E. Salter, *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford* (2v., Oxford, 1920), p. 285. Here a good argument is presented for Farley's having known more Greek than is shown in his signatures.

occurs in several places in Greek characters.[106] As he had attended Winchester College and New College, Oxford (1448), and had become Registrar at Oxford in 1458, he was in as likely a spot as any in England to acquire a knowledge of Greek, and it is altogether probable that Salter's assumption that he knew more Greek than is shown is correct.

We have only the authority of Leland that Thomas Milling knew Greek. Little is known about this man beyond the fact that he was Abbot of Westminster (fl. 1480). What works he had access to, or how much he knew of the language, is uncertain. It is possible that Leland's source of information was at fault, as he half implies in his statement: "Illud, interim, si vera sunt quae referunt, cum paucis tunc habuit commune monachis; videlicet linguae *Graecae* cognitionem."[107]

It is apparent that by the close of the fifteenth century the revival of Greek which was to reach fruition in the century to come was well under way. The soil had been prepared and the seed planted. If there was as yet no Colet or More, there were at least competent scholars and teachers, an increasing number of texts, and, what is most important, a genuine enthusiasm for the new learning. The work of preceding centuries was not without importance, but it was the work of individuals and lacked continuity. In the fifteenth century the interest in Greek becomes more general and at the same time gives rise to a concentrated activity at Oxford and Canterbury, the strength of which is greater than the sum of its parts. From Selling and Grocyn, Linacre and Latimer we pass in an unbroken tradition to the high tide of humanism in the sixteenth century.

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[106] *Epistolae Academicae*, pp. 367, 371. Cp. below, p. 127.
[107] John Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 484.

VIII

Greek Manuscripts in England During the Middle Ages

In the course of the preceding chapters we have had frequent occasion to refer to the presence of Greek manuscripts in England and the efforts made to increase their number. It is obvious that the question of what texts were available has an important bearing on the study of Greek in the Middle Ages. Our information on this subject is by no means complete but such as it is it is helpful. Apart from chance references, our chief sources are the catalogues of medieval libraries and occasional notes in existing manuscripts. For a number of important collections we are fortunate in having contemporary lists; for others, however, such as the library at St. Albans, we have no information. Nor are the lists which have survived always as helpful as we could wish. Sometimes they are mere check lists which take account of numbers rather than titles of books. Again when the titles are given the entries are often vague. Such as entry as *Liber Platonis* or *Diversorum auctorum liber unus* only calls up regrets. And when several works were bound together in a single volume, frequently only the first of them is mentioned. Nevertheless, in spite of all their shortcomings, the catalogues yield much interesting information which we may well attempt to organize, remembering always that there were certainly more Greek manuscripts in England than have left their traces in the record.

The earliest Greek works in England were the importations of Theodore of Tarsus and his friends. Not all the books brought to Canterbury at this time are known, but it is now believed that among the Greek texts was the Graeco-Latin copy of The Acts, which Bede later had (now Bodl. Laud. Gr. 35),[1] a Josephus, and a Homer.[2] What has become of these is not known. The Homer, however, is not to be confused with the one Archbishop Parker found at Canterbury and attributed to

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[1] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. xxii f.

[2] Frederick Cramer, *De Graecis Medii Aevi Studis*, p. 39. The quotation is given above, p. 27.

Theodore.[3] There is a possibility also that a Chrysostom in the original Greek was brought to England by Theodore or one of his party.[4]

In the eighth century there were probably Greek works at York for, as we have seen, Egbert is reported to have collected them. Since the fire of 1137 destroyed the collection,[5] and no other evidence, aside from Alcuin's poem (which is of no help to us here as it does not specify Greek texts) exists, it is likely that the information we desire is beyond discovery. There is one manuscript, however, which is clearly one of the earliest Greek books in England. It is an eighth century work which once belonged to Æthelstan (now Cotton, Galba I. 18) which contains the Lord's Prayer in Greek, written in Anglo-Saxon characters. Dr. James, in speaking of this work says, "Edmund Bishop, who writes at length upon it in the *Liturgica Historica*, is of the opinion that the Athelstan copy was made from a seventh or eighth century English manuscript probably at Winchester, and was brought from Rome at the end of the seventh century, under the influence of the Greek Pope Sergius."[6] At all events it was in England in the eighth century.

When we come to the ninth century there is again but one new manuscript that we can be sure was in England. This is the *Liber Commenei* (Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32). It is described by Dr. James as a unique relic of early Greek learning of the British Church, possibly being the oldest Welsh book known. It has passages of Deuteronomy and the Prophets in Greek and Latin, the Greek being sometimes in Greek characters, sometimes in Latin. The date is now given as about 820.[7]

The next century, however, shows an increase in the number of manuscripts of interest to us. We know that Æthelwold of Winchester, who died in 984, had a book called *De litteris Grecorum*, for at his death he left it to Peterborough Abbey.[8] This

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[3] M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.
[4] A. T. Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 67.
[5] Joseph Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[6] M. R. James, "Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," *The Library*, 4th ser., VII, 340.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 338 f.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

may have been a work written in Greek letters, or it may possibly have been a grammar. More important than this manuscript, however, is the Æthelstan Psalter (Galba S. xviii) which includes the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Trisagion, and Litany of Saints in Greek, written in Latin letters. A Greek Litany of equally early date has also been preserved (Titus D. xviii)[9]. One other possibility should be mentioned. It is likely that there was an Anglo-Saxon Heptateuch at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. If so, it was destroyed in the fire there.[10] The Anglo-Saxon Heptateuch now known, (Claud. Ms. B. iv), seems to have been copied from an older illustrated one which was at St. Augustine's earlier and was probably produced there.[11]

We may now turn to the twelfth century, since in the eleventh there is nothing to be definitely known.[12] In the twelfth century, however, many new manuscripts appear in England. The catalogue of books at Christ Church, Canterbury, 1170, lists a Donatus in Greek.[13] At Durham there were some works the titles of which are rather baffling. Among others we find

No. 65—Origenis super vetus testamentum
No. 186—ieometria
No. 230—Timaeus Platonis
Nos. 374, 375, 383—Galienus
No. 462—item exceptiones de libro Democriti
No. 466—liber Ypocritis peritio noxon nosematon
No. 475—item antidotarum Alexandri[14]

Most of these were without doubt Latin works, but apparently

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

[10] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxxviii, lxxix. "In the year 1168 the Church of St. Augustine was burnt, a catastrophe which was the destruction of a multitude of good authors." The years following were more destructive because ignorant monks destroyed Greek books by tearing them up.

[11] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," p. 339.

[12] Several manuscripts have been assigned to the eleventh century, but none can be proved to have been in England in that century. *The Evangelia Graeca* (Christ College, Cambridge, No. 6) is a case in point.

[13] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxxxv, 7. A *Timaeus* of Plato, also listed, was likely a Latin version.

[14] Gustavus Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 239-245.

some were Greek in Latin letters. There was also at Durham in this century a book called "Homer." It could hardly have been the *Iliad*. At all events it was later lost, for it disappears from later lists.[15] Whitby Abbey also had a good library in 1180. Here we find catalogued a Donatus, a Homer, a liber Platonis, Origen, and two "glosae psalteria."[16] The Homer, as in the case of the one at Durham, defies explanation. The most likely possibilities for Greek texts in this group of books were the Donatus and the psalters. In addition to these there are two or three other Greek works which were possibly in England in the twelfth century. At Christ College, Cambridge, there are two manuscripts which have not been traced satisfactorily. No. 6 is an *Evangelie Graeca;* No. 9, *Acta et Epistolae Graece.* The former is a work of the eleventh century; the latter of the twelfth.[17] It is possible that one or both were in England in the twelfth century. Finally at University College, Oxford (No. 52) is an Octateuch dated 1126. While the early ownership of this manuscript cannot be traced, it has a great many jottings in it of medieval date, a fact which seems to point to a long residence in England.[18]

With the increase of interest in Greek in England in the thirteenth century came an increase in the facilities for study. Many of the works of Aristotle and Plato are noted in the catalogues of the various libraries, though most of these were in Latin. However, there were Greek manuscripts, too. A Greek work (Genesis to Ruth) has been traced to Canterbury in the thirteenth century. This manuscript (Bodl. Canon. Gr. 35) was written in Italy or Sicily, and how it came to be at Canterbury is not known. Dr. James, seeing it, discovered on the first leaf, almost washed out, the words, "liber ecclesie Christi

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[15] *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelm.* (Surtees Society, VII, 1840), pp. liii, liv. See also Thomas Rud, *Codicum Manuscriptorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis Catalogus Classicus* (Dunelmiae, 1825).

[16] Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, ff.

[17] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Christ College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905) p. 27.

[18] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," p. 345.

Cant."[19] The proof that it had been in England for a long time rests on the presence of a leaf at the beginning from a Latin manuscript of the thirteenth century of *Interpretationes Nominum Hebraicorum*. At Ramsey Abbey the appearance of an *Ars Loquendi Linguam Graecam* by Gregory Huntingdon (fl. 1255), a book which gives expositions of Greek names and words, points to the possibility that, since he could write this, other Greek works were available.[20] What they were can only be guessed at from the list of Greek manuscripts found there in the next century, works which may well have been there earlier. In this century, as we have seen, John of Basingstoke brought Greek books to Lincoln. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the Greek numerals were brought by him. Other works may be supposed to have come thus too for we find that Grosseteste had them, and John was his agent. A copy of the Greek numerals was also at St. Albans.[21] A copy of Suidas (Corpus Christi, Oxford, nos. 76, 77) was probably once in Grosseteste's possession.[22] Grosseteste had, in addition to the two works which we know Basingstoke brought, a Greek *Romance of Asenath*, The Epistles of Ignatius, a copy of Aristotle's *Ethics*, and probably two Greek psalters.[23] St. John's College, Cambrige, has a manuscript (G. 1. 169) which has on the fly-leaf the Lord's Prayer, in Greek and Hebrew, Gloria in Excelsis, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis,—all the Greek being in Latin letters. Dr. James has concluded that it can be traced to the English Franciscans of Hereford in the thirteenth century.[24] A manuscript of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* at Peterhouse has Latin translations from the Arabic and the Greek in parallel columns, the one being called the old translation and the other the new. The latter was probably made in England in the thirteenth or possibly the early fourteenth century.[25] At the same

[19] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. lxxv, lxxxvi.

[20] John Stevens, *op. cit.*, I., 205.

[21] See above, p. 76 and note 66.

[22] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," p. 342.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 347.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 347.

[25] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 42f.

place (no. 191) there is a Greek manuscript of Roger Bacon, *Summa Grammaticae*, and an interesting *Prisciani Libri XVIII* (no. 256) which has a rough copy of the Greek alphabet at the bottom of one page. No ownership has been found for this, though Bacon may have had it.[26] Two works of James's list[27] show that there was a fragmentary copy of a *Greek Grammar* by Bacon and one of the psalters Grosseteste owned at University College, Cambridge, in the fifteenth century, which proves that these men had them in England in their lifetime.[28] The longer Greek grammar of Bacon is now at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, with a psalter possibly once his.[29] Two other religious works in Greek, a psalter originally at the Grey Friars Convent at Cambridge,[30] and a *Gospels* with the inscription of the Oxford Franciscans in it, and Latin headlines and chapter numbers which prove that it was in England in Grosseteste's time, are now at Caius College (nos. 348 and 403) though they were once in Richard Brinkley's hands.[31] Two other psalters found at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, are probably the ones Grosseteste had. One (480) certainly was once owned by Grosseteste or a member of his circle.[32] The other (468) was at Ramsey Abbey in the same century.

A number of other Greek manuscripts which cannot be definitely traced were possibly in England in the thirteenth century. At Clare College, Cambridge, there are three such: a Greek Lectionary, a Grammar, and a volume called *Biblia Sacra*, the last a thirteenth century work written in English which has on the fly-leaves various notes on Greek numerals.[33] A number of possibilities are found at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. One is a fine little work of the tenth or eleventh century containing the

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[26] *Ibid.*, see Dr. James's discussion of No. 256, p. 222

[27] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," pp. 353, 350.

[28] See above, pp. 81 and 71 ff.

[29] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," pp. 353, 352.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 343, 351.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

[33] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in Clare College* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 15.

Epistles, with a few thirteenth century marginal notes in Latin. There are also the *Hippiatrice* and a Photius, both of which have been mended with parts of Latin manuscripts probably of the twelfth century. They were evidently in England in the thirteenth century.[34] Furthermore, there is the *Epistolae Pauli Graece* (Emmanuel College, no. 110) of the tenth or eleventh century, a group of *Fragments* (no. 236) of the eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth (except VII, which is earlier) and a *Psalterium Graece* (no. 253) which, Dr. James suggests, had been written in England in an unskilled imitation of a Greek cursive hand.[35] The *Parcioniarum Grecum*, an important Greek-Latin Lexicon preserved at the College of Arms, was without doubt in England before the end of the thirteenth century, possibly having some connection with Grosseteste's circle.[36] It shows that the author was acquainted with most of the Greek works more commonly known in England at this time, and includes parts of the Old Testament, a vocabulary of common words, and a great many references and quotations from Suidas. Finally there is the Winchester Troper (Corpus Christi no. 473) which contains a Greek hymn, χαῖρε ἠπύλη, with a Latin gloss, which may have been in England as early as the thirteenth century.[37]

Although the fourteenth century saw the study of Greek at its lowest ebb, several additional Greek manuscripts are noted in England at this time. In this century, the catalogues are helpful, especially those at York and Durham. Some of the works now mentioned for the first time may have been in England earlier. Although the appearance of a work in a catalogue shows its existence in England at the time when the catalogue was made, it does not help to date its arrival in England. In the list of works at York in 1372 is a *Psalterium in Greco* and *Cantica prophetarum in Greco*. There were also works of Aristotle, but probably these were in Latin. Dr. James, who has edited the catalogue, suggests that the owner and giver of the Greek books was John Erghom.[38]

[34] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," pp. 345 f.

[35] M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Emmanuel College* (Cambridge, 1904), pp. vii ff. and pp. 96 f., 134 ff., 153 ff.

[36] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," p. 344.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 344 f. The catalogue edited by Dr. James is called "Fascisculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus," pp. 2–96.

Another fine catalogue of Durham is dated 1391 (this catalogue and the one of 1416 are in one manuscript). Besides numerous medical works[39] and Latin classics there are grammars and psalters with glosses. One of Aristotle's works was probably in Greek. It is a volume partly on vellum, partly on paper, of *Porphyrii et Aristotelis Libri Logicii ὀργανον vulgo dicti Graece* (Folio C. I. 15).[40] Another Greek manuscript, much injured by damp, contained *Platonis Libri Nonnulli Graece* (Quarto C. IV. 2).[41] At Durham also there was a copy of Suidas (now Brit. Mus., Harl. 3100). It was formerly thought to have been one copied by the scribe Serbopoulos, but this has recently been denied.[42] The catalogue of Ramsey Abbey of the fourteenth century[43] lists the *Timaeus* (probably Latin), two Greek psalters, and the *Graecismus*, *Doctrinale*, and *Graecismus fere, et quidem sermones*. One of these psalters we have discussed (now Corpus Christi, Cambridge, no. 468) as related to the Grosseteste circle.[44] The famous *Codex Leicestrensis* of the Greek Testament, ascribed to the fourteenth century, was found at the Town Library of Leicester, having belonged to William Clarke, ejected fellow of Peterhouse.[45] Two other manuscripts possibly in England in this century are a work of Chrysostom (Cambridge University Library, Ii. 3. 25)[46] of the fourteenth century, and a copy of Basil on Isaiah (Bodl. Auct. E. 2. 12). The latter is a tenth century manuscript marked with medieval numerals. It was formerly thought to have been one of Grosseteste's books but it is now considered that the writing is not old enough for the thirteenth century.[47]

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[39] The question of the works of Galen and Hippocrates at Durham is discussed by Savage, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–218.

[40] *Surtees Society*, VII, pp. 261–262.

[41] *Ibid.*, VII, liv. Cp. Thomas Rud, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–294.

[42] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," p. 351.

[43] W. Dunn Macray, *Chronica Abbatiae Rameseiensis* (London, 1886), pp. 356ff.

[44] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," pp. 346–347.

[45] Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries* (London, 1859), I, 750.

[46] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," p. 345.
sance," pp. 350, 346.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

The fifteenth century catalogue of St. Augustine's, Canterbury (1497?) adds nothing which is assuredly Greek. There are many works of Aristotle mentioned and a *Timaeus* of Plato, but all are probably Latin versions. There were, however, some Greek works of importance at Canterbury, for Archbishop Parker found there the Euripides and Homer (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, nos. 403 and 81) which started his Theodorean attributions. The "Theodos" found in gold on the Homer probably meant Theodore Gaza who died in 1478.[48] They were likely in William Selling's collection, together with a Greek psalter, all of which were once at Canterbury, and the first two of which fortunately escaped the fire.[49] There were other psalters in England, so that his work was not so important as the others. As Selling translated Chrysostom it is likely that a copy of the Greek text was also there.[50] It is very likely that several Greek manuscripts later scattered were at York in the fifteenth century. We know that Archbishop George Neville (d. 1476) had some manuscripts copied from the Greek. For example, in a manuscript of some Orations of Demosthenes, now at Leyden, there is a statement of the scribe that he wrote it for Neville in 1472.[51] Dr. James has proved that the scribe was Emmanuel of Constantinople, and believes that he also copied a Plato and an Aristotle, a Suidas (the one formerly at Durham and now Brit. Mus. Harl. 3100), a New Testament at Leicester, three psalters at Oxford and Cambridge, and part of another Suidas now at Oxford. It is possible that some of these were copied at York; at all events we know that Emmanuel was copying manuscripts in England in the fifteenth century.[52] A *Greek Grammar* was owned by Bishop Shirwood about 1480, probably that of Theodore Gaza.[53] John Free's books were possibly all in England. One or two have been identified. A fourteenth century manuscript (Bodl. no. 99) is listed as "Quondam Johannis de Bristollia." It is a Codex probably purchased

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[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 349, 350.
[49] See above, p. 113.
[50] Cp. Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[51] M. R. James, *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts*, p. 17.
[52] See above, p. 99.
[53] P. S. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

in Italy in the fifteenth century and brought to England by either Flemming or Gunthorpe. Abbot John Selwood at Glastonbury was in possession of at least one of Free's works and possibly more.[54] Flemming's works were also brought to England. Among his gifts to Lincoln College in 1483 was a copy of The Acts and Catholic Epistles in Greek.[55] Dr. James, quoting Leland, says that there was also at Oxford a Græco-Latin Dictionary made by Flemming.[56] In addition to Flemming's books there was a Greek *Gospels* at Lincoln College at this time.[57] At the Bodleian there are several manuscripts which were in England in the fifteenth century. One (Balliol Ms. 124) is a copy of John Free's *Cosmography*.[58] Another (Laud. Gr. 28) is a twelfth century work, a copy of the Liturgy of St. Basil, which had formerly been at Darley Abbey in Derbyshire. It had been lent to Robert Flemming, the Dean of Lincoln in 1452.[59] A more interesting work at the Bodleian (Auct. F. 3. 25) is "a paper volume of the fourteenth century in several very pretty hands, and it contains plays of Sophocles and Euripides and parts of Theocritus, Hesiod, and Pindar, and it bears the inscription: 'Iste liber pertinet magistro Johanni ffree, ffree de Bristollia natus qui obiit in civitate Romana: postea deveniebat ad manus Willelmi Wyrcestre olim de Bristollia mediantibus pecuniis auxilio domini Johannis ffastolf militis, cui deum precipimus testem.'"[60] At Clare College, Cambridge (no. 24) is a *Grammatice Graece* probably of the fifteenth century and possibly in England at that time.[61] The psalter formerly at Oxford (now at Cambridge) which has John Farley's name in it in Greek letters, has been referred to before as one which Grosseteste had in the thirteenth century.[62] Two other possibilities at Canterbury should be

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[54] Bodl. Ms. 80, a copy of Synesius de laude Calvitii.
[55] M. R. James, "The Christian Renaissance," *Cam. Mod. Hist.*, I, 597.
[56] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," p. 351.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 351.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 349.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 347.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[61] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in Clare College* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 40.
[62] M. R. James, *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts*, pp. 23–24.

added: one, a companion to the Octateuch, a Greek book which contained Job, Solomon (i. e., the five Sapiential books), Isaiah, and Jeremiah; the other, a psalter.[63] No date can be assigned definitely to these works; it is probable that they were in England earlier. Finally, it is likely that the Bodleian copy of Basil on Isaiah (Auct. E. 2. 9) was in England in the fifteenth century. It contains the date 1509 and was probably one of the earliest Renaissance importations.[64]

From this review we begin to see something of the nature of the Greek works which were available in England during the Middle Ages. More than half of the texts were religious. The largest percentage was made up of Bibles or parts of the Bible, such as Gospel books, The Acts, or Acts and Epistles, Heptateuchs, Octateuchs, Sapiential books, or the Prophets, especially Isaiah. Next come the Greek psalters, more than half a dozen of these being noted. Apart from manuscripts containing liturgical extracts—the Lord's Prayer, Litanies of Saints, the Creed, Gloria in Excelsis, and a hymn or two—there is also the apocryphal *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which, when translated, enjoyed much popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Among the Church Fathers Josephus occurs, but more common writers were Chrysostom, Suidas, and Basil. The letters of Ignatius came in the thirteenth century.

Outside the field of religion, Greek books are decidedly infrequent. Even grammars and other tools for acquiring the language are seldom noted. Besides the *Graecismus* of Eberhard, the fragment of Bacon, and the older grammars of Donatus and Priscian, only four or five are known: Bacon's longer grammar, perhaps two copies of Theodore Gaza, and possibly a grammar which Grosseteste may have had access to. An *Ars Loquendi Linguam Graecam* and the *De Litteris Grecorum* about complete the list. Although there was much interest in Plato and Aristotle, most of their works mentioned in the catalogues were probably Latin versions. The *Ethics* and the *Organon* were available, and perhaps one or two others. Many manuscripts of

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[63] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxxxvii.

[64] M. R. James, "The Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance," p. 346.

Galen and Hippocrates are listed in catalogues, but none are known to have been Greek texts. The literary aspects of the Greek culture are almost unrepresented. Grosseteste had a *Romance of Asenath*, but this was partly religious. Homer[65] and Euripides, Archbishop Neville's Demosthenes, and Free's manuscript containing parts of Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus, Hesiod, and Pindar, reached England only in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

From the point of view of geographical distribution most of the Greek manuscripts in England prior to the Renaissance seem to have been concentrated in a few important ecclesiastical centers. If we consider the period as a whole, Canterbury seems to have had the largest number of Greek manuscripts. In addition to the usual Biblical texts,[66] writings of the Church Fathers,[67] and grammars,[68] Canterbury had a Homer in the seventh century, and another in the fifteenth, Plato's *Timaeus*, Aristotle's *Organon* (these two may have been Greek or Latin versions) and a copy of Euripides.[69] York doubtless possessed some of the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts collected by Egbert, but after the fire of 1137 they were lost. In 1372 the list of manuscripts at York mentions only a *Psalterium in Greco* and the *Cantica prophetarum in Greco*.[70] But in the later fifteenth century many other Greek works were probably found there, for, as we have seen, George Neville had Emmanuel of Constantinople copying Greek texts for him. We know what works were Emmanuel's,[71] but we cannot tell which of these were actually at York. Durham from the twelfth century had an impressive collection of books. While a number of the Greek works mentioned there were doubtless Latin translations, there were grammars and psalters in Greek, the *Organon* of Aristotle, and one Greek text of Plato. At Lincoln Grosseteste had one of the most important collections of Greek works in England before the

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[65] For the Homer at Canterbury in the seventh century, see above, p. 27.
[66] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. lxxxvi, lxxxvii. Cp. above, p. ??, 128.
[67] See above, p. 128.
[68] See above, p. 128.
[69] See above.
[70] See above, p. 15.
[71] See above, p. 99.

sixteenth century. Although we know what some of these texts were,[72] there were probably others which have escaped us. Grosseteste's influence also accounts for the importance of Ramsey Abbey's collection of Greek texts. In the time of Prior Gregory Huntingdon (fl. 1255) Grosseteste's psalter was there and Gregory himself wrote the *Ars Loquendi Linguam Graecam*. In the next century the number of Greek works at Ramsey had increased. There were then two Greek psalters and a Greek and Latin psalter, a *Graecismus*, a *Doctrinale*, and a work entitled *Graecismus fere, et quae sermones*.

The actual number of Greek works which we know to have been at any of these places is not large. And we cannot be sure that their apparent superiority over other centers is not due to the fact that we happen to possess fuller information about them. We should expect St. Albans to have had a fair Greek collection, since Nicholas the Greek was busy for a time there. In the fifteenth century, through the gifts of Duke Humphrey and the bequests of Flemming and Grey, Oxford began to acquire important texts. In a similar way Cambridge received the bulk of Gunthorpe's library. But these bequests were not obtained until the very end of our period and their influence was chiefly felt in the century to come.

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[72] See above, pp. 72 f.

IX

Conclusions

When we attempt to view in perspective the study of Greek in England during the Middle Ages we are conscious of a development that is by no means steady or uninterrupted. The beginnings are tentative and uncertain and for a long time the accomplishment is slight. The achievements of one century are not necessarily carried on in the next; and while each generation should have been in a sense the inheritor of such progress as had been made by its predecessors it was often compelled to make practically a new start. The interest in Greek at Canterbury in the early days of Theodore and Hadrian was responsible for the Greek activity at York and elsewhere. But the tradition hardly survived the Norman Conquest and when in the twelfth century we once more find the study of Greek encouraged by such a man as John of Salisbury that study seems to owe nothing to pre-Conquest stimulation. The mild wave of enthusiasm that marks the thirteenth century was the result of factors that first became apparent in the twelfth. But again the influence of Grosseteste and Bacon, Nicholas the Greek and John of Basingstoke, did not carry over into the fourteenth century. In this century interest in Greek was at a very low ebb in England. Even an enthusiastic lover of books and learning like Richard of Bury apparently knew little about the language. The revival in the fifteenth century would certainly not have been possible without the long period of preparation preceding it, but any direct debt of the fifteenth century scholars, collectors, and patrons to earlier students in England is slight and difficult to establish. The study of Greek in England before the Renaissance is characterized by three clearly marked waves or impulses separated by intervals of lessened interest or neglect: the first in the seventh and eighth centuries when the beginnings were made, beginnings which raised hopes that were not fulfilled; the second under Grosseteste and Bacon in the thirteenth century, followed by a decline in the fourteenth; and the third in the fifteenth

century which continued on into the modern period. It seems better to attribute the impulses of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries to recurrent influences from the continent than to the strength of the native tradition. The study of Greek in England in the Middle Ages must be thought of as a part of the similar activity across the Channel, definitely reflecting this activity at each stage though sometimes after a considerable delay.

Through the centuries of rising and falling interest in Greek one can discern a noticeable change in the attitude of those identified with its study. Whatever may have been the sentiments of those who began the study of Greek at Canterbury and York, there can be little doubt that the interest soon came to be chiefly etymological and stylistic. Up to the close of the eleventh century English students seem seldom to have attained to the ability to read or translate. Whether such an ability was beyond their reach or merely outside their interest, we cannot now say. At all events they seem to have been satisfied to explain the meanings of words from the Greek and to make a display of Greek expressions as a stylistic feature of their own writing. In the twelfth century a new motive manifests itself. With the introduction of writings of Aristotle into western Europe comes the desire to read these works in the original. Greek is felt to be the key to ancient learning and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we see enthusiastic attempts to collect Greek works and the effort to learn Greek in order to translate them. Logic and medicine and science turn hopefully to Greek sources. Theology and philosophy seek support for their conflicting views in the works of Greek fathers and thinkers. Finally, in the fifteenth century, and more especially toward its close, the interest in Greek spreads to works of pure literature. Now for the first time the poetry and drama of the Greeks begin to appear in England. Greek begins to be thought of as a cultural force, the key to a great civilization. And while the full effects of this attitude were not felt until the following century we can already look back and from such a vantage point see how far we have progressed from the etymological superficialities and Hellenized prose of Aldhelm and Fridegode.

It would be a mistake to think of the study of Greek in England as in any sense a popular movement during the period under review. Interest was generally confined to a few individuals or to small groups. Certain centers are more often identified with such study than others, though first one and then another comes into prominence according to the affiliations of the outstanding students. Among such centers Canterbury not only has the honor of being the cradle of Greek study in England, but at intervals recovered a prestige which she intermittently yielded to other places. The early importance of Canterbury lasted for several generations and from it sprang other centers of Greek interest, notably those at York and Winchester. Of these two centers, the northern was the more important and for nearly a century, under the leadership of Bede, at Yarrow, and Egbert and Alcuin at York, it not only rivaled Canterbury but gave promise of becoming the chief center of Greek in England. The departure of Alcuin put an end to this promise and York plays no part again in the renaissance of Greek until the days of Archbishop Neville in the fifteenth century. Winchester was important though less so than Canterbury and York. Under Æthelwold and Ælfric a beginning was made, but after Ælfric its importance as a school of Greek fades. In the fifteenth century Canterbury again takes its place as a leading center of Greek activity, largely through the efforts of Selling to establish a school of Greek there. In the thirteenth century a second important center of Greek study emerges, Lincoln, where Grosseteste and his circle were busy. Like Canterbury, it was the source from which other groups at other places derived their inspiration. To it can probably be traced much of the activity in Greek of the Oxford Franciscans, and the interest at Ramsey Abbey and perhaps at St. Albans. The third great center of Greek was Oxford. Apart from the temporary activity there among the Franciscans in the thirteenth century Oxford attained prominence in Greek only in the fifteenth century. The influence of Humphrey of Gloucester was doubtless a factor in this period. Though Humphrey was not interested especially in Greek, and though he did not live to know the many Greek students who belonged to Oxford in the latter part of the century, he still was responsible

for encouraging learning in general at Oxford, through his assistance to scholars and his many gifts of books to the University. At all events Oxford became famous for its Greek students toward the close of the century. John Free, John Gunthorpe, Robert Flemming, John Tiptoft, and William Grey were all Oxford men, and all but Robert Flemming were of Balliol College. In other parts of England there are isolated instances of Greek interest, but most of the study of Greek radiated from three major centers: Canterbury, Lincoln, and Oxford.

It seems almost unnecessary to remark that the personalities behind these centers were until late mostly churchmen. In their hands Greek learning chiefly rested and they were responsible for most of the study of Greek in the Middle Ages. Thus at Canterbury in the earliest centuries of our study Theodore was responsible; in the later school at Canterbury Prior Selling was the inspiring personality. In northern England Bede was the leading teacher; at Winchester Dunstan was the central figure. In the thirteenth century at Lincoln Bishop Grosseteste did most for the development of Greek as he did in the schools where the influence of Lincoln was felt. At Oxford Bacon, the most important pupil of Grosseteste, somewhat overshadowed his master and became the central figure. Indeed, churchmen were almost the only students of Greek until the fifteenth century when secular patrons, such as Humphrey of Gloucester and John Tiptoft, foreshadow the renaissance of humanism.

In general we must conclude that the knowlege of Greek in England in the Middle Ages was at its best slight and elementary. Except for a few teachers whose native tongue was Greek most students were grappling with the language under the handicap of inadequate tools and equally inadequate instruction. That they seldom attained an easy reading knowledge of Greek is not surprising. Moreover, their acquaintance with Greek writings was very restricted. It included scarcely anything of the great body of Greek literature and gave little idea of the broader aspects of Greek culture. The students of the Middle Ages, missing the rich rewards that the study of Greek brought to

their successors, were but preparing the way for the achievements of the Renaissance. But they endured the hardships of all who blaze a new trail and, however modest were their individual accomplishments, assuredly deserve the gratitude which later ages owe to the pioneer.

APPENDIX

The Letters of John Free

(Ms. Bodl. 587.)[1]

po[ssibi]le si nodum ignoraueris
ut solu*tione* no*n* sit ignora*n*tis Vi[*n*]culum p*rofec*to

[F. 156) Ante aliquot dies quid*am* adolescentes mihi p*ro* suis egregiis virtutib*us* *con*iun*c*tissimi multum a me efflagitabant ut Aristotelis libros m*etaphysic*ae qui iam diuturno situ squaloreq*ue* obdur[a]uerunt: nostra tandem explanatione molliores nitidioresq*ue* apparer*ent*. Ob hanc a*utem* singul*a*rem ips*orum* de me existimationem ut tantae p*raeclarae* rei (obeundae) transige*n*dae eorum opi*ni*one idoneus viderer i*n*gentes m*e*rito ipsis ago h*abeo*q*ue* grat*ias*. Nunc igit*ur* id mi*hi* doctri*n*ae ab optimo d*omi*no elargitum atq*ue* magnope*re* exoptare*m* quo debite possem et de me exp*er*tae in eor*um* ves*t*risq*ue* honestissi*mis* satisfacere desideriis. At vero cum ita nu*n*c se res h*abet*, m*etaphysic*am, q*uam* sapi*enti*am alio no*mi*ne interpretami*ni*, n*isi* sapi*ent*es, prodere alius possit nemo. S*ed* quisna*m* inter mo*r*tales eum p*ro*fectionis gradum attigit? Quem ea appellatione dignu*m* existimabimus? Q*uo*d si neq*ue* illi sapientes fuerunt q*ui* sapientiae cognoti vocitati sunt neque posteriores qui p*ro*fiteri se ni*hi*l scire no*n* dubitauer*unt*, aut nemo vnq*uam* fuit ea dignus appella*tione* a*ut* artis divini*ta*tis max*ime* particeps is p*ro*cul dubio erit. Quo fit vt si accurata*m* sapi*enti*ae querimus explana*tion*em nihil supr*asit* aliud q*uam* illum ips*um* in hanc vitam r*euocandum* esse qui solus nouit librum ap*er*ire et eius signacula soluere. Sin vel mediocri i*n*terpretatione i*n* re tam ardua vos *con*tentos fore intellexero, no*n* et*iam* m*i*hi desper*a*ndum postq*uam* su*m*mi ph*ilosophi*, vt magnus Alb*er*tus, vt b*eatus* Thomas q*uem* imitari *con*tendim*us*, vt no*n* nulli alii optimos nobis co*m*mentarios reliquerint me gerere more*m* posse ves*t*re honestissimae volunt*atis*. Vos igit*ur* pro virili parte adhortor, amantissi*mi* socii, ut quemadmod*um* felicibus, ut aiu*nt*, auspiciis incoepisti, ita et cade*m* felicit*a*te pergatis. Nam p*er* deum i*mmor*tal*em* quid homi*ne* melius, q*uid* homi*ne* dignius sapi*enti*am, q*uam* qui habe*nt*.

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[1] Cp. Walter F. Schirmer, *Der Englische Fruhhumanismus*, Leipzig, 1931; and J. Spingarn, "The Unpublished Letters of an English Humanist," *Journal of Comparative Literature*, Vol. 1, 1903. Spingarn has transcribed a few of the later letters. I have made some corrections in these. Schirmer has added one or two of the earlier letters with some fragments. His work appeared after my own transcription was finished, but I have checked his text with my own. The handwriting of some of the letters is extremely careless and the reading of occasional passages cannot be established with certainty.

[F. 157] Soleo nonnumquam prestantissime dux, humanissime pater, et viri amplissimi ante oculos ponere et mecum ipse diligentius reputare oratoriam dignitatem quoniam si recte inspicere ac de illa benigne iudicare voluerimus tanta profecto nobis esse videbitur vt nulla res ardua possit incidere qu(a)e subsidio eloquenti(a)e non indigeat. Si *enim* ducenda sit uxor, si reconsilianda cuiuspiam benevolentia, si mittenda legatio, si componenda seditio, si tollenda discordia, si de bello, de pace agatur, si de deorum immortalium religione tractetur, si afflictos consolari oporteat, si optime meritis grati(a)e agend(a)e, si boni et fortes viri ornandi, si pr(a)eclarissimarum artium studia laudanda, horum certe nihil sine diserti hominis facundia commode transigetur. Quod nisi longius a proposito traheremur demo . . .

[F. 158] Cum ad veri inuestigationem varius disputandi mos inueniatur Gorgiae tamen Leontini audax illud ne dicam impudens negocium a modestis ingeniis minime probari solet (solebat). Hunc *enim* quem nominaui caeterosque sophistas qui in conuentu ausi sunt poscere quaestionem *id est* iubere dicere qua de re quis vellet audire a Socrate qui parens philosophiae iure dici potest elusos apud Platonem videmus. Archesilaus autem longo post tempore alium instituit *vel* reuocavit potius Socratis disputandi morem ut hi scilicet qui se audire vellent non de se quererent sed ipsi dicerent quid sentirent quod vbi dixissent ille contra hi vero qui audiebant quoad poterant defendebant sententiam suam. At nostra *quidem* etas commodius agere videtur ut is quem audire volumus dicat quid sentiat et cur auditores vero non perpetua oratione ut academici *sed* singulis in rebus insistant et intelligant quid concedat *quid* abnuat. Cum *enim* fertur ut inquit Cicero quasi torrens oratio quamuis multa cuiusque modi rapiat nihil tamen teneas nihil apprehendas nusquam orationem rapidam coerceas. Sed ne auditorum desideria diutius moremur inter innumeras questiones ab Aristotele disputatas vnam precipue duximus in medium proferendam quam et difficilem vehementer et cognitu dignissimam esse arbitramur. Et est: an sententia comunia per se sensibilia dicere conueniat. Qua de re cum sit inter doctissimos summa dissentio quamuis alienum patet nostri esse officii quo quid sit verissimum exquiratur ad vtramque questionis partem disserere.

Apud maiores nostras (superioris etatis homines)[2] viri spectatissimi semper in omni vitae cursu antiquius existimatum fuit (est)[3] vt quantum et a gerenda r.p. et amicorum negociis cessare licuisset *tantum* ad eruditiorum hominum sibique similium congressum aliquem sermonemque conferrent. Videbant *enim* quo pacto recte institutus animus neque requiescere aut vtilius aut honestius vnquam possit quam in aliqua opportunitate docte ac liberaliter quam colloquendi interrogandique et respondendi comitate. Sed cum apud

[2] Interlined.
[3] Deleted.

eos diuersa disceptandi genera [inventa][4] in fuerint illud tamen Gorgiae . . .

[F. 159] Jo. Fre An (glicus) s. p. d. clarissimo viro d. Lodouico de Carbonibus. Quod raro ad te litteras dem suauissime Lodouice non est quod apud nos in obliuionem veneris. nihil enim tale in me cadere potest et maximo erga te quem a tempore initae inter nos amicitiae vnice semper et amavi et colui. et quamquam [quam mul][5] innumeri fere sunt qui te et divinas virtutes tuas amplectuntur me tamen habes ὃς τοῖς ἅπασιν τῶν πρωτάων ἀμφισβητῶ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἀμφισβητῶ, συνχωροῦσι γὰρ ἅπαντες. Itaque causam puta esse cur scribendi officio nunc satisfacere vix punctu temporis ad id mihi dari et si quando datur non adsunt quibus meas epistolas presentarem(?). Verum ho(c) tempore quando ad vos proficiscitur doctissimus vir et mihi necessitudine maxima coniunctus Andronicus grecus nulli prorsus ex[cusationi] lo[cus] relinquitur. Intendit et istic τῆς σεμνοτάτης φι[λοσοφί]ας insignia sumere. Est sane in greca literatura adeo excellens ut mea quidem sententia nemini hac nostra aetate concedat ne tuo quidem ut bona veniam dicam Theodoro.

Est preterea modesto ingenio suavique et suae gentis uitio maxime alieno. Hunc tibi recommendo quem velim amplectatis ὡς τὸν φίλον φίλτατον et eo magis ὅτι ἐμοὶ καταθύμιος ἐστί ut si qua in re opera tua uti velit experiatur litteras nostras alicuius apud te potestatis esse te vero predicatore virtutum suarum multos illi conciliabis amicos. Itaque δίδου τε ὀι αἰδοίαν χάριν καὶ ποτ' ἀστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξεινῶν. Mitto ad te aliquid nugarum meorum quas sub montibus Euganeis proxime lusimus. Eas vbi bis ter legeris verum si ita meruerint committe marito. Tu fac sine tuis ad nos litteris Andronicus non redeat. et si dixi preter illas aliquid abs te editum commiseris erit mihi quam gratissimum. quod si sepius feceris leuius aliquanto feram τὸ ἀποθ (sic) ερεῖσθαι τῆς θειοτάτης σοῦ χ (sic) υχῆς.

[F. 159 v] Joannes F. s.p.d. Hieronymo de Castell' σὺ γὰρ δὴ καὶ φιλόσοφος ει καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. Itaque tibi non me ipsum modo verum etiam amicos tibi commendare audeo et ideo μέγα τοι κλέος ἀιεὶ ὥτινι σοὺ γέρας ἔσπητ' ἀγλαον.

[F. 160v] Quamquam philosophie tractatio in omni vitae cursu optimo atque aptissimo quoque dignissima est tamen sunt nonnulli—

[F. 161] Joanes s.d. amplissimo viro domino W. Episcopo. Non eram rescius pater dignissime, quando anteaquam h[a]ec lectitares, noui pontificis creationem apud vos esse vulgatam. At quam ex ea voluptatem italia tota ceperit; haud scio an aliquis adhuc rumor istuc afferre potuit.

Tantam nempe quantam p[opulus] r]omanus] clarissimis in triumphis vix vnquam pr[a]e se ferebat casis.[4] Nempe tantam esse licebit dicere quantam olim vel hannibale profligato vel cymbris trucidatis ad vnum po[pulus] ro[manus] pr[a]e se ferebat. Verum c[a]etas modo ciuitates consulto relinquens; ea dum-

[4] Interlined.
[5] Deleted.

taxat qu[a]e hic Ferari[a]e geruntur paucis perstringam. Vbi vero Cardinalem senensem virum omnium iudico pr[a]estantissimum summum esse pontificem allatum fuit; magnificus Ferari[a]e marchio ipsius perpetu[a]e glori[a]e congratulaturus in quatriduum indici festum iubebat. similis quoque virgiliano carmini ab eius ore fluebat oracio. Ergo agite et cuncti l[a]eti celebremus honorem. Itaque passim per vrbem corda oblita laborum totum hoc triduum lenibant curas solumque indulsere rebus tradiderunt se l[a]etis. Deinde supplicationes publice, ac pomp[a]e solennes vt par erat magno cum apparatu institut[a]e fuerunt. Ignes etiam frequentissimi quos iam in coelum educere certabant, eosdem quatuor dies perpetuo lucebant. Pueri autem circum innupt-[a]eque puell[a]e Sacra canunt omnem ferme noctem transigentes insomnem. At ut his maiora "l[a]etici[a]e" signa vel vt verius loquar dementi[a]e manifestarentur, iubente marchione Juuentus qu[a]edam insana et quasi furialibus stimulis agitatae per vniversam vrbem cursitant, ligneas porticus prosternunt quaecumque tabulata deducunt supra officinas solo adequanti: cymbas non nullas "deducunt" ex flumine. Atque h[a]ec omnia in rogos ardentissimos precipitant. Continuo summus vulgi plausus exoritur maximusque tubarum fremitus.

[F. 161v] Postremo vero die iussu principis cursus equorum instructi sunt et proposita certaminis praemia non [quidem][6] vulgaria quidem. Ad hoc ergo spectaculum tanta plebis multitudo confluxerat sese longis curriculi spaciis infundens; ut iam futuro certamini liberum spacium extaret nullum. Quando vero abscedere tandem de medio cepit et campi facti essent patentiores, quatuor et viginti pueri splendidissimi per medias hominum acies incedebant. Quos quidem omnes: equi spumantes pictisque tapetis instrati vectitarunt postquam vero buccina quae ludos ab aggere canebat signum (?) dedit: omni alipedes velociores aura e carcere ruebant vnaque currere inceperunt atque intuentium aspectum relinquere.

Egestatem nostram quando etiam me tacente cognostis, quid opus est pluribus verbis utar? ad te maxime qui praeter c[a]eteras divinas animi tui virilitas et haberis et es liberalissimus omnium qui sunt qui fuerunt qui futuri sunt. Si nostro quidem ingenio delectaberis, tentabimus hoc anno aliquem tuo nomine e gr[a]eco in latinum vertere. Age igitur benignissime pater ad consuetam pecunie summam addas aliquid quo gr[a]ecos quosdam libros emam. Nullum enim beneficii genus magnum tibi videri debet quod in eum feras quem amplitudini tu[a]e constat esse deuotum, quem immortalium laudum tuarum habes predicatorem habebisque dum viuat.

[F. 162] Nescis fortasse mi Ricarde nescis quanta fama tui nominis ad nostras aures perlabitur. Audio enim te predicatorem euasisse perfectissimum et in divinis causas perorandis omnes tibi facile cessisse. Nactus enim es

[6] Deleted.

tantum in dicendo vim tantam copiam ut omnes in stuporem ducas qui te audiunt et quocumque lubet eorum possit vectitare montes. Ista vero etsi aijo [sic] maiora visa sunt quam spectata erant mihi tamen minime noua erant l[a]etissima certe qui te suavitatemque ingeni tui probe nossem ut in ore tuo cui animum studeres?[7] tibi palmam tribuendam esse facile st(atu)erem.[8]

[F. 163] Reverendissimo in christo patri d. Willelmo Eliensi episcopo I. ff.S. Puderet me sane post acceptum beneficium tam sero litteras ad te dare si non hoc ex alieno potius defectu quam mea negligentia penderet. Non enim sum Adeo nescius adeoque rationis expers vt me fugiat nihil esse damnabilius m[i]hi? homini magis alienum quam post perceptum beneficium in eum qui contulit gratias agere nullas. Quod quidem vicii genus quoniam longe mihi abesse volebam: quam mature potui tuum amantissimum cliderovv per epistolam pellexi ut nomine nostro immortales impertiret tibi gratias. Vnaque nostram non scribendi allegaret rationem. Cur igitur serius has litteras misi quam vellem; quom "ab ipso" iam pridem causam explicatam credimus; eandem nunc recensere et inutile et supervacaneum esse duco. Hoc vnum sic accipe pater obseruandissime non tam me gauisum esse quod habundantes pecunias ad me misisti cum quibus quam quod tuae rect[a]e valitudinis quae aeque mihi ac salus mea cara est sum factus certior. Quantis ergo molestiis liberatus quantaque leticia (gaudio)[9] expletus nunc animus est neque dici neque scribi facile arbitror. Quibus enim tenebar curis qua anxietate priusquam epistola fidelissimi cliderovv lecta mihi est? ipsae quidem litter[a]e quas idibus Janu[a]riis ad amplitudinem tuam scripsimus satis fere declarant. In quibus si quae forsan leuiuscula tuaque grauitate [F. 163v] et lectu et auditu indigna inseruimus, veniam tamen opinor dabis eo saltem quod temere sed nimia detenti paupertate nimiaque sollicitudine affecti apertius rem nostram significare impelli videbamur.

Tametsi pr[a]esul obseruandissimae in preferendis ad te litteris hac sum usus diligentia ut singulis temporibus eodem exemplo binas mitterem quantum tamen coniectura capio e multis paucissimas accepisti. Non enim adduci possum ut postea quam italiam attigi. Nullum putem ex propinquis nullum ex familiaribus ad me scripsisse presertim quos ego crebris litteris ut tu[a]e rect[a]e valitudinis me certiorem redderent rogaui pellexi flagitaui. Verum utcumque fit fateor me nullas accepisse pr[a]eter vnas illas quas iam olim ad me misit tui obseruantissimus cliderovv homo antiqua virtute et fide. Ex quo vereor ne id ipsum eueniat in nostras litteras qu[a]e si ad amplitudinem tuam non perferantur ut velim, humanitatis erit tu[a]e hanc potius culpam in tabel-

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[7] I have here used the reading of J. E. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, p. 54. It does not seem to be the correct reading but at present I can give no better suggestion.
[8] This also is Spingarn's suggestion, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[9] Interlined, with *quantoque* as an alternate reading for *quantaque*.

larios q*uam* aut in meam scribendi pigricia*m* at in curia*m* mittendi ascribere velle. Quis *enim* putaret ut pro tuis tantis in me meritis saltem vili ora*cion*i munere defungi nollem, aut quis me tam parui sensus tamq*ue* nihil mea de re cogitante*m* [a]estimare posset ut eius generis officiu*m* quod et tibi iocundu*m* et mihi haud fac*tum* difficile foret [F. 164] no*n* prestarem alacris. Sed de litte*r*is hactenus. Vereor *enim* ne in re minime necessaria pluribus verbis q*uam* opus sit usus fueri*m*. Quid tandem agas pater colendissime et quo felici numine res tu[a]e succedant vehementer scire cupio. Graue *enim* mihi est decem p*er*petuos menses de illius statu nihil audire cuius extant in me b*e*neficia maxi*m*a cuius salute mea co[n]tinetur cuius ego vita*m*, antepono me[a]e. Equidem de te dies noctesq*ue*, ut debeo cogitans non modo incertos euentus valitudinis human[a]eq*ue* conditionis fragilitatem extimesco veru*m* et*iam* ne in tanta varietate rerum ne in illa ve*st*ra tam [a]estuosa re publica iaicturam (*sic*) aliq*uam* feceris. Non erit igitur vt opinor alienu*m* ab humanitate tua eiusmodi ad nos epi*st*olam mittere que de [secu*n*do][10] excelso statu tuo nos erudiat qu[a]e pio desiderio satisfaciat que inani cogitatione cura molestia me liberet. His proxi*m*is diebus vir clarissimus et de latina lingua optime meritus Laurentius Valla diem obist suu*m* eta ta*m*en obiit ut relinqueret que eum vixisse testarentur monumenta [singularia[11]] egregia. H[a]ec ad amplitudinem tua*m* scripsi corpore quide*m* valens re sane pecuniaria laborans. Ferari[a]e septi*m*o septi*m*o (sic) k*alendas* nouembres.

Joanes. F. Eli[a]e Cliderov s. p. d. Anteaq*uam* h[a]ec ad humanitatem tuam scribere statuera*m* litte*r*as tuas mi suaviss*i*me Elia expectare coepi. Veru*m* quod tardius ad nos p*er*fere*n*tur q*uam* volumus; magnis id potius occupationib*us* tuis attribuo [F. 164v] q*uam* quod te immemorem putarem mei. Noui *enim* quod me diligas quod me ames quod me su*m*ma b*e*nevolentia complectaris. Atq*ue* ita mihi obtingat quod volo; in te colendo cedo nemini. Neq*ue* sane parui [a]estimandu*m* duco; abs te amari, tibi carus haberi, tibi inq*uam*: que*m* tantus tamq*ue* su*m*mus pr[a]esul in oculis habet, cuius virtutes admiratur, cui fortunas o*mn*es, consilia, seip*s*um denique co*m*mittit atq*ue* tradit. Venire solet i*n* mente*m* illius te*m*poris recordatio quando du*m* solus adera*m*, ip*s*um do*m*inu*m* meu*m* quid de te sentiret audiui loquentem. Sed quid opus est ut per me scias quibus laudibus extulit virtutes tuas. Pr[a]eteribo sane, neq*ue* hoc loco dicam q*uan*ti q*uan*ti(*sic*) fecit [a]equa*b*ilitatem animi constantia*m*q*ue* tui quib*us* ornamentis [a]equissima*m* fidem tua*m* prosecut*us* est. Quid pr[a]estanti prudenti[a]e tue attribue*n*du*m* esse censuit. Ea q*uam*uis mihi quidem minime noua fuere q*ui* te suavitatemq*ue* ingenii tui probe nossem, non mediocre*m* ta*m*en cepi voluptatem, cum eum intellexi qui pro meritis ornare suos nouit honorifice de te et sentire et loq*ui*. Cum epi*st*olam sis daturus

[10] Interlined.
[11] Deleted.

quam ad dominum scribo adiuua nos quaeso tua sentencia, cum in litteris cambii celeriter mittendis tum etiam in reliquis rebus qu[a]e ad promotionem nostram arbitraris pertinere. Expecto vehementer mi colendissime Elia litteras te dignas, qu[a]e in primis me certiorem faciant felicissimi status domini mei, deinde tu[a]e rect[a]e valitudinis tuorumque omnium. Vale at dum longe absum rerum nostrarum curam suscipe.

[F. 165] I. ff. Reuerendo. p. ac d. domino Willelmo Eliensi Episcopo salutem. Etsi obseruandissime pater in scribendis ad te epistolis meo sum functus officio ita ut me res adhortabatur mea, quod tamen de ipsarum nulla cercior adhuc fio, que cogito, aut quibus nunc absumor curis, prolatu opus non est. Pecuniis namque iam pridem deficientibus [a]eris alieni graue debitum unaque ut fit miseriam comitem conflaui mihi. At nihilominus de tua dignitate secus quam deceat sentirere (*sic*) nequeo. Sed omnem hanc tarditatem in pecuniis mittendis internunciorum negligencie imponendam esse arbitror. Tam profecto apud me fides tua viget ut hac etiam in egestate non modo incepti non pigeat. Verum ne spes quidem olim in te posita quando scilicet posthabitis ceterorum consiliis, amicos, parentes, patriam, deserueram aut remitti aut extenuari facile possit. Quocirca tuam obsecro amplitudinem si non inanem spem nutrire pergo, eo maturius huic subuenire defectui quo indies magis magisque debitorum fiunt accessiones, quando ut me deus bene amet ne minimas quidem dum abero impensas, te preter suggeret nemo. Valeat foeliciter amplitudo tua. Ex Feraria 8° kalend. Octobris.

Iohanni Hungaro Johannes Anglicus s.p.d. Quoniam officia in me tua tanta exeunt ut non modo fortunas meas verum et meipsum tibi debere videar, cauc omnino credas me aut sinistrum aliquid aut dignitati tu[a]e incongruum suadere velle. Postquam enim ferariam aduentaui studiumque illic repperi quam florentissimum mox profecto animum ad te flectere atque ista mecum tacitus dicere cepi. Num Iohannes ille vir in primis doctus hac perpetua hieme opido in tam misero macerabit se? Nunc sic inaniter suos ibi conteret dies ut huius prorsus celeberrimi studii doctrine nullatinus fiat particeps. Num denique inquam tot clarissimis viris ex plurima italie parte huc iam confluentibus solus ille non veniet ? quid multa ? Tedet plane haud secus tui quam mei causa paupertatis mee que bona dumtaxat verba ut ad te mittam facit.

At vero [F. 165v] si animo, benefaciendi facultas responderet, non alium quidem montagniane deduceres diem. Sed hec missa faciens censeo te quam primum ferariam versus proficisti debere, nec ullo pacto pecuniarum arrencia(?) te detineat. Nam sechel ipsemet suis litteris significat pro tuis saltem impensis et si per annum pecunie defuerint prouidere vult et potest quidem. Interea ut comicus inquit aliquid fiet spero, testis ego sum quod permagnifice stabis si venire in animo est, multi preterea ex tui amantissimis tuam valde affectant presenciam instantque nimium ut te per epistolas ad nos venire pelliceremus.

Tu igitur inamabile regnum desere tequе refer ce(ler)i? meliorіs ad auras. Vale foeliciter. Ex feraria xj kalend. nouembris.

Guarino veronensi preceptori optimo Iohannes Anglicus s.p.d. Nihil unquam vir clarissime tam ad scribendum tibi animam induxit meum quam illa tua in M. c. hesterna lectio, videre enim videor parum conferre posse bonas audire precepciones, si non easdem ad exercitacionis diligenciam accomodare velimus omnis quippe calors viros, omnis inquam memoratu dignissimos sic fecisse accepimus, quorum quidem facta ut ipse frequenter et mea plane sententia rectissime admones doctrin[a]e loco nobis esse deberent. Ego vero ad quem pocius alium quam ad te litteras darem ignoro, maxime cum tue dumtaxat fam[a]e gloria me per tot incognitas undas tantaque viarum discrimina ex alio ut ita loquar orbe, italiam petere allexit persuasit, quantus quantus (*sic*) es in ore omnium qui Angli[a]e fines colunt prolatu opus non est ne id magis assentandi causa quam quod te carum habeam dicere videntur. Liberalis hominis officium puto non modo non esse assentatorem, verum ne apparere quidem hoc vnum tamen affirmare ausim non tantum laudis tibi tributum esse quin id plane merita exsuperarunt tua. Quam vellem ego et spero equidem id artis in dicendo aliquando me consecuturum quo salutem non in postremis virtute ac sapiencia tua dignum aliquid proferre queam. Set ut comico placet omnium rerum vicissitudo est. H[a]ec ad te nunc scribo vir grauissima (*sic*) partim ut amoris erga te mei testimonium haberes partim vero exercicii causa ut hunc ieivnvm et rusticanum sermonem verbis corrigas ac vrbanum reddas. Sapienti vero a quo me spero abire doctiorem insticiam detegere meam pudebit minime. Vale.

[Fol. 166] Reu[e]rendissimo patri et domino domino [*sic*]. W. Fl. Ep. I. ff.s. Quid tandem feci aut commerui pr[a]esul dignissime ut tantum et tam crudele de me supplicium sumeres secusque ac meritum exposcit meum. Eo profecto nunc loco sum ut neque quid agam neque quid mihi consulam scio. Quod enim iampridem sollicitudines meas diminuere et aliqua ex parte mollire solebat, id nunc iis me confectum curis destuit, ut ipsum quod maneam in vita peccare me existimem. Siquidem per dies singulos pulchre sperabam iamiam accipere litteras tuas, quas ego etsi ultra prefixum tempus cessare videbam, finxi tamen continuo mecum huius more causam aliquam ut me consolari possem et vel ut spem que in te solo sita est facile non deponerem fidem quam dictis tuis semper habui. Adhuc habere non desinerem. Postea vero quam ex frequentissimis litteris evoluto iam ferme anno ne minimum quidem responsum capio, quis iam spei locus relictus est? Acippe igitur obseruandissime domine quid dubitem et que nunc animo surgat sentencia. Nempe aut quod variata rerum fortuna tempestates et procellas in ipsis vestre rei p. fluctibus subiisti aut quod cui longe magis pertimesco morbo casu ve aliquo cum morte vitam commutasti. Malo enim fortun[a]e mutabilitati quam

tant[a]e grauitati tue indignum aliquid ascribere videri, dum supererat egregius ille adolescens nepos tuus quem in italiam mittere me una secum si fortuna tulisset in italiam profisci decreueras. Ipso tandem acerba morte functo nihilominus eadem de me sententia animo sedebat tuo impensasque vt ante polliceris equales Equidem ego hac humanitate tua impulsus dignum duxs neque amicorum preceptis obtemperare neque precibus flecti neque minii deterreri modo tibi morem gererem. idque maxime cum ad id genus studii quo scimus compluris homines laudem, gloriam ac immortalitatem quandam consequutos inuitabas vltro. Quid multa? Aliorum omnium fauore priuatus, tuaque dumtaxtat fretus magnificencia in italiam me contuli an secundis an certe aduersis auspiciis rerum exitus declarabit. Id quaeso cogitationi tu[a]e subiat quod s[a]epenumero[12] promisit amplitudo tua, ante hiemem libras decem pro emendis vestibus velle ad me mittere. Interea vero dum h[a]ec pecuni[a]e afferri cessant quas ego miserias perpessus sum hac coniectura colligere quis potest. Principio enim quando ex Anglia. [F. 166v] discederem deum testor immortalem nemo omnium extra tuam dignitatem me vno donauit nummo. Immo ex amicis inimici ut sint feci dum tu[a]e voluntati parere studeo. Ex decem vero libris pro quibus litteras cambii mecum portaui, itinere iam consummato tantum sex mihi superarant et ad victum et ad vestitum prouidendum, pro quibus quidem comparandis tam exiguam summulam ad perquam paucum tempus sufficere neminem fugit. Tandem extrema vrgente necessitate libros vestesque apud infideles iudeos depono pauxilulum nummorum accipiens, scio quid loquor et quod celsitudini tu[a]e verum loquor. Quid ergo nunc animi mihi est qui pro exacta vita [a]ere alieno valde premor et ad reliquam degendam nihil restat non pecuni[a]e non libri non vestes. Hei mihi. Numquam profecto eque ac modo pauperias mihi onus visum est et miserum et graue. Cur ipsa queso non apparent promissa quando olim ut quieto animo et curis vacuo forem imperabas pollicitans quod nostra egestate iam cognita non alterum mensem subsequi debere priusquam litteras cambii mei manibus tenerem. Quis me in obliuionem venire fecit quis voluntatem mutare potuit tuam. Si vero quemadmodum coepisti impensas suppeditare, pergere non recusares, sperarem neque id quidem temere, ita latinis graecisque institutus ad vos reuerti, ut et "hominibus" nostris quidem in vtroque genere litterarum non parum conducere viderer, quod sane non tam mihi quam amplitudini tu[a]e ingentes laudes afferrent satis scio. At litteris accurate indulgere, et curis occupari tristibus minime coherere constat. Nam qui ad preclara studia incumbere velit primo perturbacione animi vacuum esse decet, insuper que sunt ad viuendum necessaria adsint oportet. Qua quidem ex re benignissime

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[12] Spingarn's suggestion is followed here. Cp. *op. cit.*, p. 64.

presul na*m* quis alius est que*m* i*m*plorare q*ue*am, si h[a]ec futu*r*a co*m*moda, si pietas ulla, si pollicitac*io*nes ipse quouis te pacto ta*n*gant me his malis q*uam* p*r*imum exime om*n*is *enim* nobis e*r*it mora longa et pecunias ia*m* longo expectatas matur*ius* velis mittere. Sin aliter facere p*er*suasum habes efficies profecto ut ludibrio ut despectui om*n*ibus sim opposit*us* vt semp*er* miser defleam casus *et* fortunam mea*m*.

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